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HAROLD SMITH, M.A.

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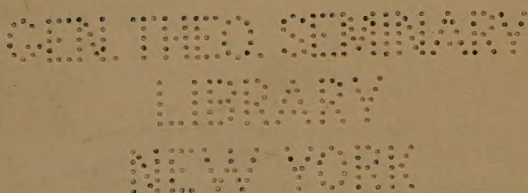
THE CREEDS

THEIR HISTORY, NATURE AND USE

BY THE REV.

HAROLD SMITH, M.A.

LECTURER AT THE LONDON COLLEGE OF DIVINITY,
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EDITOR'S GENERAL PREFACE

IN no branch of human knowledge has there been a more lively increase of the spirit of research during the past few years than in the study of Theology.

Many points of doctrine have been passing afresh through the crucible ; " re-statement " is a popular cry and, in some directions, a real requirement of the age ; the additions to our actual materials, both as regards ancient manuscripts and archaeological discoveries, have never before been so great as in recent years ; linguistic knowledge has advanced with the fuller possibilities provided by the constant addition of more data for comparative study, cuneiform inscriptions have been deciphered and forgotten peoples, records, and even tongues, revealed anew as the outcome of diligent, skilful and devoted study.

Scholars have specialized to so great an extent that many conclusions are less speculative than they were, while many more aids are thus available for arriving at a general judgment ; and, in some directions, at least, the time for drawing such general conclusions, and so making practical use of such specialized research, seems to have come, or to be close at hand.

Many people, therefore, including the large mass of the parochial clergy and students, desire to have in an accessible form a review of the results of this flood of new light on many topics that are of living and vital interest to the Faith ; and, at the same time, " practical " questions—by which is really denoted merely the application of faith to life and to the needs of the day—have certainly lost none of their interest, but rather loom larger than ever if the Church is adequately to fulfil her Mission.

It thus seems an appropriate time for the issue of a new series of theological works, which shall aim at presenting a *general survey* of the present position of thought and knowledge in various branches of the wide field which is included in the study of divinity.

The Library of Historic Theology is designed to supply such a series, written by men of known reputation as thinkers and scholars, teachers and divines, who are, one and all, firm upholders of the Faith.

It will not deal merely with doctrinal subjects, though prominence will be given to these; but great importance will be attached also to history—the sure foundation of all progressive knowledge—and even the more strictly doctrinal subjects will be largely dealt with from this point of view, a point of view the value of which in regard to the “practical” subjects is too obvious to need emphasis.

It would be clearly outside the scope of this series to deal with individual books of the Bible or of later Christian writings, with the lives of individuals, or with merely minor (and often highly controversial) points of Church governance, except in so far as these come into the general review of the situation. This detailed study, invaluable as it is, is already abundant in many series of commentaries, texts, biographies, dictionaries and monographs, and would overload far too heavily such a series as the present.

The Editor desires it to be distinctly understood that the various contributors to the series have no responsibility whatsoever for the conclusions or particular views expressed in any volumes other than their own, and that he himself has not felt that it comes within the scope of an editor's work, in a series of this kind, to interfere with the personal views of the writers. He must, therefore, leave to them their full responsibility for their own conclusions.

Shades of opinion and differences of judgment must exist, if thought is not to be at a standstill—petrified into an unproductive fossil; but while neither the Editor nor all their readers can be expected to agree with every point of view in the details of the discussions in all these volumes, he is convinced that the great principles which lie behind every volume are such as must conduce to the strengthening of the Faith and to the glory of God.

That this may be so is the one desire of Editor and contributors alike.

W. C. P.

LONDON, *Autumn*, 1911.

PREFACE

THE study of the Creeds leads from time to time to subjects belonging to almost the whole range of Theology. The most obvious of these have been dealt with, sometimes very briefly, but others have necessarily been omitted.

My indebtedness to various writers is, I hope, sufficiently acknowledged in each place ; but I must here specially mention, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, and *Christ and the Gospels*, and the works on "The Creeds" by Pearson, Maclear, Swete and Goodwin (*Foundations of the Creed*). The bibliography does not profess to be complete ; it consists chiefly of books which I have myself found useful.

HAROLD SMITH.

September, 1911.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	I

ARTICLE I

GOD THE FATHER, THE CREATOR	17
---------------------------------------	----

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth."

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible."

ARTICLE II

THE LORD'S PERSON—WHO HE IS	33
---------------------------------------	----

"And in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord."

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of His Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made."

ARTICLE III

THE INCARNATION	50
---------------------------	----

"Who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

"Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man."

ARTICLE IV

CHEIST'S DEATH	66
--------------------------	----

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried."

"And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate ; He suffered and was buried,"

ARTICLE V

"DESCENT" AND RESURRECTION	PAGE 80
--------------------------------------	------------

"He descended into Hell."

"The third day He rose again from the dead."

ARTICLE VI

THE ASCENSION AND SESSION	99
-------------------------------------	----

"He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

"And ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father."

ARTICLE VII

THE RETURN AS JUDGE	108
-------------------------------	-----

"From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

"And He shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end."

"From whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their own works."

ARTICLE VIII

THE HOLY GHOST	119
--------------------------	-----

"I believe in the Holy Ghost."

"I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the prophets."

ARTICLE IX

THE CHURCH	132
----------------------	-----

"The Holy Catholic Church; the Communion of Saints."

"I believe one (Holy) Catholic and Apostolic Church."

ARTICLE X

"THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS"	154
-------------------------------------	-----

"I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins."

CONTENTS

xi

ARTICLE XI

RESURRECTION	PAGE 164
------------------------	-------------

"The Resurrection of the Body" (Latin, "*Carnis Resurrectionem*"; so in Creed of Baptismal Service, "the resurrection of the *flesh*").

"I look for the Resurrection of the dead."

"At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies."

ARTICLE XII

ETERNAL LIFE	173
------------------------	-----

"The Life Everlasting."

"The Life of the world to come."

"They that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil into everlasting fire."

APPENDIX

I. The Old Roman Creed in Greek	184
II. The Same in Latin	185
III. The Apostles' Creed, Final Form	186
IV. The Creed of Caesarea, as given by Eusebius	188
V. The Creed of the Council of Nicaea	189
VI. The Creed of Jerusalem, from Cyril	190
VII. The Creed of Constantinople (our Nicene Creed)	191
VIII. The Athanasian Creed	193
INDEX	197

THE CREEDS

INTRODUCTION

I. NATURE AND USE OF CREEDS

A CREED is a brief statement of the leading facts of one's religious belief. It comprises in a brief formulary the most important religious tenets of the community using it. The acceptance of the Creed is thus a condition and a token of membership of this community. Hence a favourite early Christian name for the Creed was "symbolum," meaning the watchword which marked out Christians from others.

The historic Creeds differ from later Confessions of Faith or Articles of Religion by confining themselves to (*a*) the historical facts of the Christian religion, and (*b*) its fundamental doctrines. They do not go into the many further questions upon which the Church has often been divided. These limits are determined partly by the early date of these creeds, partly by later ones retaining the aim of being brief summaries of fundamentals.

These creeds have two main uses. (*a*) Their oldest use was individual, as a personal confession, or summary of instruction, or a test of orthodoxy. Creeds were originally used chiefly at Baptism, as a summary of the instruction given to the catechumen, and as his profession of acceptance of the faith of the Church. This was the

original use of the Apostles' Creed, as of many others. The original Nicene Creed, though based on a baptismal creed, was itself framed as a test of orthodoxy ; but the creed based upon this, commonly termed the Nicene Creed, was primarily a baptismal one. The Athanasian Creed was probably originally composed as an outline of instruction.

(b) But creeds are now more commonly used as a part of the Church's public worship. They are like hymns, acts of praise and worship ; conversely the *Te Deum* is largely a creed. " A declaration of personal trust and allegiance is in reality a high form of worship ; to recite a creed is no barren and dry test of orthodoxy ; it is a loving outburst of a loyal heart." ¹

This is however a later use. The use of the Apostles' Creed at the Hour Services, the sources of our Morning and Evening Prayer, cannot be traced back beyond the ninth century. The " Nicene " Creed was first introduced into the liturgy by Peter the Fuller, Bishop of Antioch, about 480. The practice was adopted at Constantinople about 512, and spread into the West by the end of that century, being adopted in Spain by the Council of Toledo, 589 ; but it was not used at Rome till 1014.

The relation of a Creed to Scripture may be compared to that of the Report of a Commission to the evidence upon which this Report is based. The report is of value only so far as it is borne out by the evidence. Its value consists in its summarizing the evidence, extracting the most important facts from the whole mass, marshalling and interpreting them. So while Scripture presents us with the facts upon which the Creed is founded, the Creed summarizes and emphasizes what the Church has regarded

¹ Goodwin, *Foundations of the Creed*, p. II.

as the most essential of these facts. The Creed "marks out the great truths which the Church believes [the Holy Scriptures] to teach. And these truths which the Bible reveals in the popular form of life and fact, the Creed gathers up in the logical form of doctrine." ¹

The second part of the Creed consists mainly of a recital of the historical events of Our Lord's Incarnate Life. There is a tendency at the present time to belittle such historical facts, regarding them as simply pointing to spiritual truths which, it is said, can remain secure, although the historical events may be no longer accepted. Thus the union of God with man, the supreme revelation of God in the person of Christ, and Christ's continuous life, are regarded as quite independent of the historical truth of His miraculous conception, and His bodily resurrection and ascension; for these latter we are simply dependent upon the word of others, while we ourselves can recognize and largely verify the truth of the former. But the abandonment of the historical facts will, with ordinary people at any rate, soon involve loss of the spiritual ideas. "The ideas which these facts have in part generated, and have always expressed, cannot be dissociated from them. Without the historic Creeds the ideas would evaporate into unsubstantial vagueness, and Christianity would be in danger of degenerating into a nerveless altruism." ²

II. HISTORY OF THE CREEDS

A. GENERAL¹

Every confession of faith recorded in the New Testament may be described as a brief creed; e.g., Nathanael's

¹ Maclear, *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 3; cf. Westcott, *Historic Faith*, p. 23.

² *Lambeth Encyclical*, 1908, p. 29.

(John i. 49) or Peter's (Matt. xvi. 16). So may also any brief outline of teaching; e.g. Peter to Cornelius (Acts x. 38-43), or Paul to the Corinthians (1 Cor. viii. 6, xv. 3-4). A definite creed or summary of teaching is possibly mentioned Rom. vi. 17, "the form of doctrine which was delivered you"; and 2 Timothy i. 13, "the pattern of sound words which thou hast heard from me." But such phrases probably refer merely to the general substance of Christian teaching, not necessarily embodied in any formulary. Confession of faith at Baptism may however be implied, Ephesians v. 26, "the washing of water with the word"; 1 Peter iii. 21, "the question and answer of a good conscience." Acts viii. 37 is probably not authentic.¹

The Creeds of the early Church find their starting-point in the words of institution of Baptism, Matthew xxviii. 19, "in (into) the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." Whether or no these words were intended as a formula to be necessarily used at Baptism, they clearly explain Baptism as bringing into union with all three Persons, dedicating to their service, and laying claim to blessing from each. Hence candidates for Baptism (*a*) received instruction about each Person, and their own relation to Him, and (*b*) confessed their faith in each. Hence both the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds consist of three paragraphs.

Before Baptism the Creed, as a summary of Christian doctrine, was taught and explained to the catechumen ("Traditio Symboli"), and he was required to repeat it on the day of Baptism ("Redditio Symboli"). At the

¹ But, as a very early interpolation, it shows such a profession was usual at an early date.

actual Baptism a shorter interrogative creed¹ was commonly used ; to it, or to each part of it, he answered " I believe."

In the fourth century leading churches had somewhat different creeds. The main points were the same, but details were added or modified to suit local conditions ; and the Eastern creeds are fuller and more dogmatic than the Western. We know the creeds of Jerusalem, from Cyril ; of Caesarea, from Eusebius ; of Aquileia, near Venice, from Rufinus ; of Rome, also from Rufinus ; of Carthage, and possibly also of Milan, from Augustine.

B. THE APOSTLES' CREED

The Apostles' Creed is a development of the old creed of the Church of Rome,² dating from the second century. It is indeed first found at length in the confession of Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, made at Rome about 341 ; from the description of the Roman Creed by Rufinus some fifty years later we recognize that Marcellus gave proof of his orthodoxy by accepting the Creed of the Church to which he had appealed. But this creed comes from a much earlier date ; it is universally admitted that it must have taken shape not later than the middle of the second century. Tertullian and other early Western writers refer to creeds closely akin to this and apparently derived from it. It is disputed whether it is the parent of *all* other creeds, or whether, as seems more probable, the Eastern creeds are of independent origin.

The Roman Creed as found in the fourth century differs

¹ Cf. Creed in Baptismal and Visitation Services of Book of Common Prayer.

² See Appendix. The original language was almost certainly Greek.

from our present Apostles' Creed by omitting the phrases " Maker of heaven and earth " ; " He descended into hell " ; " Catholic " ; " The Communion of Saints " ; and " The life everlasting " ; also several of the other clauses existed in a shorter form. (The above clauses are, however, mostly found scattered in the creeds of that century.) Our present Creed is a gradual development from this, which probably grew up in the churches of Gaul.¹ It reaches its final form in the writings of Pirminius, a missionary and abbot in France and Germany in the first half of the eighth century.

This creed, even in its older form, was certainly not drawn up by the Apostles, though there is a fairly early tradition of this,² and the name may come from an early belief in their authorship. The title " Apostolorum " is as old as Ambrose ; in Pirminius and other later writers each article is ascribed to a different apostle. But probably the original name, as in the older manuscripts now, was " the Apostolic Creed " ; the phrase would denote that it contained the faith of the apostles, but not necessarily that it was verbally their composition. In its oldest form everything can be closely paralleled from their writings or speeches.

This is the simplest of our creeds. It is moreover the only creed required for church membership, not only in the service of Baptism, but also in that for the Visitation of the Sick, when the Articles of the Faith according to this Creed are rehearsed, " that you may know whether you do believe as a Christian man should or no." " No test of belief beyond the Apostles' Creed may be or is

¹ Some of the earliest witnesses to these clauses come from the Danubian provinces, e.g. Niceta and the *Fides Hieronymi*.

² In Ambrose and Rufinus.

required as the condition of being a professed disciple of Christ. . . . Christianity in its simplest and most ultimate form is the Apostles' Creed." ¹

C. THE NICENE CREED

The true "Nicene Creed" was that drawn up at the Council of Nicaea in Bithynia, 325 A.D., to exclude the teaching of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, that Christ though far above man was not truly God and not eternal. Arius was deposed by his bishop, Alexander, but found many influential supporters. To settle this controversy, this council was summoned by the Emperor Constantine. An Arianizing confession of faith was rejected by the great majority of the council. It was resolved to draw up a creed as a test of orthodoxy for bishops. Eusebius the historian, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, presented the Creed of his Church as a basis of agreement; but this was adopted only with important modifications and additions, especially the phrase "of one essence (substance) with the Father." This original Nicene Creed ended with the article "and in the Holy Ghost," followed by anathemas against those holding Arian views.² The Arians or Semi-Arians tried for many years to get one or other of some vaguer creeds adopted in its place; but it was finally established and Arianism condemned at the Council of Constantinople, 381.

Our Nicene Creed differs considerably from this creed of the Council of Nicaea, not only by omitting the anathemas and adding a number of clauses at the end, but in many other points of varying importance. It is traditionally said to be a revision of the original Nicene

¹ Goodwin, *Foundations*, p. 17; cf. Gibson, *Creeds*, p. 84.

² See Appendix.

Creed, made by the above Council of Constantinople to meet the error of the Macedonians (a Semi-Arian party called after their leader Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople), who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. But this tradition is incorrect, as this longer creed was in existence before this council met ; it is found in a work of the year 374.¹ It was indeed probably approved by this council, as was asserted at the Council of Chalcedon on the other side of the Bosphorus, 451. But it was not thereby intended that it should replace the original Creed of Nicaea. It was most probably a revision of the old Creed of the Church of Jerusalem, as this appears in Cyril's Lectures,² A.D. 347 ; made probably by Cyril himself when bishop there, to bring this Creed up to the Nicene standard ; adopted by Epiphanius, who lived many years in Palestine ; and presented by Cyril at the Council of Constantinople as a proof of his own orthodoxy, and accepted as such.³ It possibly became the Creed of the Church of Constantinople. It was adopted along with the older form by the Council of Chalcedon, and gradually superseded it. A few changes have come in later, in Latin versions and those derived from them ; the most important are the singular " Credo," " I believe," for the Greek πιστεύομεν, " We believe " ; the insertion of the clause " God of God " ; and the statement that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. This was the first creed to be used in regular public worship.

This is the most universal creed, used alike in East and West, and inseparably connected with the Eucharist in

¹ The " Anchoratus " of Epiphanius.

² See Appendix.

³ Hort, *Two Dissertations* ; but see Gibson, *u.s.* 169, Note C.

both. The Apostles' Creed is a typical Western one ; the Nicene is typically Eastern. The former mainly records historical facts ; the latter " interprets them and deals with the spiritual mysteries which underlie them." These differences appear specially in the article on the Lord's Person ; the " Apostles' " is very brief here, the " Nicene " very full, " heaping phrase upon phrase to make clear what they had realized in painful controversy." The same difference appears in the next article, where the Nicene Creed gives the object of the Incarnation, " for us men and for our salvation." This is a characteristic of Eastern creeds in general ; in them the " ideas " of Christianity preponderate ; in the Western creeds the " facts " of Christianity stand out in their absolute simplicity." ¹

D. THE ATHANASIAN CREED

This is certainly not the composition of Athanasius, who succeeded Alexander as Bishop of Alexandria, 326 ; though it enforces the truth of the Lord's Divinity, for which he contended with the Arians from the Council of Nicaea till his death in 373. It was undoubtedly written originally in Latin, not in Greek ; there are indeed several Greek versions, but their variations show that all are translations from the Latin. It was written not earlier than the fifth century, and almost certainly in Southern Gaul—Lerins or Arles. Waterland, writing in 1723, ascribed it to Hilary, Bishop of Arles, 429-449. A few years ago it was commonly thought to be in its present form not earlier than the ninth century, possibly arising from a combination of two earlier documents, answering

¹ Westcott, *u.s.* 193 ; cf. 208, and Maclear, *u.s.* ch. vi.

to the two divisions of this creed. But the most recent investigators have gone back substantially to Waterland's date, though differing as to the probable author. This may be Vincent of Lerins, or Honoratus of Arles, Hilary's immediate predecessor; but Dom Morin, followed by Mr. Turner, has given reasons for Caesarius of Arles early in the sixth century.¹ The Creed is found in MSS. of the eighth century,² commentaries on it date from the same or even the previous century; a canon of a council at Autun, probably held in 670, orders "the faith of the holy prelate Athanasius" to be recited without mistake by all the clergy; it is echoed, on a scale too extensive for mere coincidence, in a canon of Toledo, 633. Internal evidence can only fix the date roughly. The Creed is later than St. Augustine's work on the Trinity (416), which it largely follows. But as it has no clear reference to the Nestorian or the Eutychian controversy, using indeed in v. 35 language capable of being taken in an Eutychian sense,³ it is thought to be earlier than the Council of Chalcedon, 451, if not than that of Ephesus, 431. But this argument is not decisive; these questions were never burning ones in the West, as Arianism was at the probable date of this Creed. The bulk of what had been the Western Empire was under the rule of Arian Goths, Vandals, and Burgundians, and perhaps Lombards, some of whose kings proved bitter persecutors of the orthodox. There was need to warn men of the danger of forsaking "the Catholic Faith."

The Creed falls into two divisions. The first (vv. 1-28) treats of the Holy Trinity, a subject dealt with only inci-

¹ Dom Morin now believes the Creed to be of Spanish origin (*Journal Theol. Studies*, April, 1911).

² Turner says the Milan MS. is little, if at all, later than 700.

³ "Taking of the manhood into God."

dentially in the other creeds. It guards carefully against both Arian and Sabellian error, maintaining that each Person is distinct, that each is truly God, yet there are not three Gods, but one God. The second division treats of the Incarnation, the relation of [our Lord's two Natures, Godhead and Manhood. Here Apollinarian error is certainly in view, possibly also Nestorian and Eutychian. Christ is perfect God ; and perfect Man, consisting of a rational soul as well as human flesh. Yet though God and Man, He is not two, but one Christ ; one Person, but in two natures. We have in this Creed a very clear and easily remembered statement of the Catholic Faith on these points as it was finally expressed in the West, under the influence of Augustine.

This Creed was originally used as an Exposition of the Faith, for the personal instruction of the clergy, and for their use in instructing others ; then as a hymn. This use is suggested by its structure ; it is a hymn about the Creed or the Creed in the form of a hymn. It is of purely Western use as well as origin ; it is found indeed in Greek service-books, but not as forming part of regular services. According to the Sarum Breviary, it was sung daily at Prime followed by the Apostles' Creed. In the first English Prayer-book, 1549, it was ordered to be used on six great festivals ; the number of occasions was increased in 1552 ; in 1662 it was first distinctly ordered to be used on these occasions *instead* of the Apostles' Creed.

Most of the controversy which has raged round this Creed is connected with the so-called Damnatory or Monitory Clauses, which are unfortunately a prominent feature of it. Some of them, e.g. v. 28, are more severe in the English than in the Latin original ; but no accurate translation can really remove the difficulty. These

clauses are defended as reminding us of the responsibility we are under of using our intellect rightly, or as insisting upon the importance of holding to the true faith ; and they must certainly be taken as condemning only those who knowingly fall away from it. But they seem to narrow unduly the conditions of salvation ; no Scripture passage insists upon the absolute necessity of holding such refinements of doctrine, however true they may be. So the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury have recently said that these clauses "in their *prima facie* meaning and in the minds of many who hear them, convey a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants, and one which is not consonant with the language of the greatest teachers of the Church." ¹ This impression may indeed be met by careful interpretation,² but such explanations sometimes seem rather strained, and there are obvious objections to the constant public use of phrases which are commonly and naturally taken to mean something much stronger than they really do mean. The American Prayer-Book omits the Creed altogether ; the Irish Book retains it, but without any rubric requiring its use. It would perhaps be best to strike out these monitory clauses altogether, and then retain the present use of the Creed. It is perhaps open to the charge of excessive dogmatism, as if our knowledge of the divine nature could be perfectly full, clear and precise, instead of being only a rough approximation to the truth. This contrasts strongly with the present-day contentment with haziness. But allowing for this, its clear and easily-remembered statements are most valuable.³

¹ Chronicle of Convocation, 1904. Report No. 391.

² Gibson, *u.s.* p. 226.

³ See Appendix VIII, for revised text, translation, and notes.

(The best recent English books on the History of the Creeds are: Gibson, *The Three Creeds*; Burn, *Introduction to the History of the Creeds*; Turner, *History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas*. Gibson on the *Thirty-Nine Articles* (Art. VIII) is also valuable here.)

The text of the Creeds in their various forms is given in the above histories, also in Heurtley, *De Fide et Symbolo*, and *Harmonia Symbolica*. Lietzmann, *Symbols of the Ancient Church*, gives a critical text of a very large number of creeds, and Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, has a good selection.)

III. FAITH

The words "Belief" and "Faith" have the same general meaning, but "Faith" has, like "Trust," a rather more active and personal tone. The verb "Believe" answers to both.

The essence of belief lies in personal acceptance as real. We believe what we regard as real and not merely imaginary. So the description of faith, in Hebrews i. 1, though rather obscure, probably means, "Faith gives substance to things hoped for, realizes them; convinces of things not seen."

Belief is commonly distinguished from knowledge as less assured; it may be regarded as "a mental attitude not so strong as certainty, but stronger than mere opinion." But the distinction is far from complete. Belief may reach moral certainty. There is in all knowledge an element of belief, for what we know we also believe, i.e. accept as real. And much of what we regard as knowledge is really based on faith; e.g. all that relates to the future; all that depends on inference and not on demonstrative evidence, either of the senses or of reason; and especially

all that depends on the testimony of others. This testimony is our great source of knowledge of foreign countries, facts of history, things now happening elsewhere. Faith is thus by no means limited to religion, but is a necessity of daily life. To read a newspaper is an act of faith.

This applies also to faith in persons; we have constantly to accept the word of others, to regard them as competent and reliable; e.g. railway passengers must trust the driver and signalmen. All dealings with others rest upon faith; the most cautious and suspicious people have to exercise it. They may be unusually careful whom they trust and how far they trust, but must trust to some extent.

Faith in its developed form carries with it corresponding action. To believe that a thing exists involves acting as if it existed; this alone shows the reality of the belief. Mere assent, however unhesitating, to things of no practical personal importance is a lower order of faith; it is much more easily produced and means much less. Thus developed faith involves the feelings and the will, as well as the intellect. The disputed question of the relation of creed to conduct is solved when we realize that what a man merely assents to need not affect his life, but what he fully believes as concerning himself personally must make a considerable difference. Conduct tests or proves faith.

To believe any one is to credit him, to accept his word on some definite point. To believe *in* any one or in anything has two distinct possible meanings: (*a*) to believe in his (or its) existence; and (*b*) to have confidence in him (or it). The latter is the more common use, especially in the case of persons. For example, speaking of things, to

believe (a) "in the sea-serpent" is merely to believe that such a creature exists; but to believe (b) in "electricity" is not merely to believe that there is such a thing, but to have confidence in its comprehensive usefulness and future developments. So speaking of persons, (a) "I believe in King Arthur" probably simply expresses my belief that he had a real existence, and is more than a mere myth; but (b) "I believe in Mr. Balfour" (or "in Mr. Asquith") expresses not simply belief in his actual existence, but confidence in him as a statesman. There is a similar distinction in Greek and Latin. There, however, πιστεύειν εἰς τινὰ¹ (credere in aliquem) has the full meaning of reliance and confidence. πιστεύειν τινι (credere alicui) is usually "to believe any one, take his word"; though these phrases sometimes have the fuller meaning as above. To believe in the existence of any one is expressed by πιστεύειν τινὰ εἶναι (credere aliquem esse). The Creeds have the first of these phrases—"Credo in Deum," "πιστεύομεν εἰς θεόν," with the full meaning of reliance, confidence and self-surrender. "I believe in God" thus includes not merely the narrower sense, "I believe in the existence of God," "that there is a God"; but also the fuller one, "I confide in God, rely on God, trust in God"; "all my belief and confidence is in the Lord of Might." So Augustine interprets the phrase as involving love and union. "Quid est credere in Deum? credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire et eius membris incorporari."² So Westcott says, "Faith is personal in its object. It expresses not the conviction

¹ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ τινι, ἐν τινι, credere in Deo, differ from this only by slight shades of meaning.

² Comm. in John xxix. Pearson, p. 16, gives other patristic and scholastic quotations, but himself interprets simply "I believe that God is."

that something is true but that Some One is the stay of life. . . . I do not simply acknowledge the existence of these Divine Persons of the One Godhead, but I throw myself wholly upon their power and love. . . . Our Creed . . . is the expression of personal trust and not simply of intellectual conviction.”¹

The preposition “in” is repeated in the Creeds at the mention of each Person. In the final clauses we pass into the narrower meaning, “believe that there is . . .” The Nicene Creed repeats “in” with the article on the Church; here the Greek has “ἐν,” but the Latin is simply “credo unam ecclesiam.”

The singular “I believe” (*credo*, hence “creed”) is most common in Western creeds. The Greek of the Nicene has πιστεύομεν, plural—“we believe.” The singular lays stress on the Creed as that of the individual and perhaps marks a baptismal creed; it brings out the individual and personal character of our faith; each expresses his own individual conviction. The plural lays stress on the Creed being that of the Christian community. Naturally the plural is used in Creeds of Councils.

The Creed is commonly divided into twelve articles. This division is based on its legendary connexion with the Twelve Apostles, and is somewhat arbitrary; the number might equally well be eleven or thirteen, and the grouping has not always been the same. Yet on the whole it is a convenient arrangement.

¹ *Historic Faith*, 24.

ARTICLE I

GOD THE FATHER, THE CREATOR

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth."

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible."

I. GOD

BELIEF in God belongs in some form to all religions; it is not peculiar to Christianity. It may furthermore be reached independently of tradition or of special revelation by reflective consideration of the observed facts of nature, including human nature and life. The conception thus obtained or supported is called "Natural Theology" or "Theism." Christianity rests on this and implies it.

Various definitions have been given of what we mean by "God." The primary idea is that of a Supreme Being; but differences in definition arise according as more or fewer points are regarded as essential. Theologians tend to lay more stress than philosophers upon the Divine Personality, which is indeed essential to real religion. And the conception has, like other conceptions, developed under reflection. A full definition is that of Dr. Caldecott,¹ "A Supreme Being, Necessary or Self-existing, Infinite and Eternal, Personal or Spiritual,

¹ *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 1.

Perfect in Goodness and Beauty, Immanent in the Universe and yet infinitely Transcending it."

Some belief in God is practically universal, existing among all races of mankind. "It is at least as true that man is a religious as that he is a rational animal."¹ Writers approaching the subject from very different points of view agree that there are no races, however rude, which are destitute of all ideas of religion.² Savage tribes, thought at first sight to be destitute of any religion, have repeatedly been found on closer acquaintance to have distinct religious ideas and practices; either the writer who describes them as without religion has not been admitted into their inner life, or he has denied the name of religion to all not reaching a certain standard. Such religions are indeed often of a very low order, but they are still religions, some belief in some supreme Being or Beings; they contain germs which reach their true development in a purer Theism. Further, any tribes supposed to be without religion are always of a very low order; its absence, if complete, may well be due to their having lost what they once had.

This idea of God, thus attested by the general consent of humanity, is probably instinctive. So Dr. Illingworth says,³ "Our belief in a Personal God is founded on an instinctive tendency, morally and philosophically developed. . . . Man has an instinctive tendency to believe in a God or Gods. . . . Theology was . . . an attempt to unfold the significance of an already existing intuition or instinct." Man's constitution is such that in the presence of the facts of nature and life, religion necessarily arises.

¹ *Lux Mundi*, p. 47, cheap edition.

² Jevons, *Introd. to History of Religion*, p. 7.

³ *Personality*, p. 76.

So the really strongest proof of the existence of God is a man's own personal experience of relation to Him and communion with Him—a direct and personal experience independent of all reasonings. Such perception is as valid as any perception of the senses; and it occurs in too many cases to be easily set down as merely subjective or illusory.

Yet as it may be regarded as such, and cannot be brought to bear on others with nearly equal weight, other arguments are useful. These are not absolutely demonstrative; we can no more demonstrate the existence of God than we can our own existence, that of our fellow-men, or that of the world. But probable and not strictly demonstrative evidence is accepted as valid in almost every act of life. "We accept the theory of gravitation, because it describes a vast number of relevant facts; . . . the existence of God is a theory which explains a world-wide mass of facts." ¹

The most usual arguments are those from Causation, Design, and Conscience.

The argument from Causation runs somewhat thus: Every event, everything that has come into being, must have had some antecedent, ground or cause, sufficient to account for it. This applies to all that comes within our own experience; we reasonably assume it to apply universally. Working back to the beginning we come to some First Cause, self-existent and eternal. The cause of the universe must be sufficient to account for its harmony and intelligibility. And the clearest idea we have of Cause or Origination, is in Personal Will.

This argument is not overthrown by the theory that the universe—not of course as we see it now, but in its

¹ Gwatkin, *Knowledge of God*, i. 10.

ultimate essence—is eternal. Even if this could be proved to be true, it would still require an Eternal Cause. The root idea of Causality is dependence in being rather than precedence in time.

The argument from evidence of Design runs thus : We find, (a) that general laws, e.g. Gravitation and Conservation of Energy, are at work in the universe, and that order prevails throughout it ; (b) that many things are admirably adapted for their uses and presumed ends, e.g. the eye for seeing. Independent causes are found to co-operate to one end. The number of such cases seems to forbid accident and to require design. As any wonderful piece of mechanism points to a wise human designer, so this order and these adaptations in the universe point to a Supreme Designer.

This argument has not been undermined by the theory of Evolution ; it has only been carried a stage further back.

Evolution simply denotes a *method* of action. Certain adaptations may be traced back to the age-long work of natural laws, but these laws did not make themselves. They are the means employed by the Designer to work out His plan ; and He not only established them, but is now at work in them.

The Moral argument, from Conscience, may be thus expressed. We have a moral sense of right, as distinct from wrong, and a sense of obligation to do the right, quite independent of one's own wishes, or those of one's environment. This points to an objective Moral Law. This may be regarded as imposed by a Lawgiver to whom we are responsible for our conduct, Who must Himself be a perfectly righteous and moral Being. Or otherwise put, this moral ideal to which our actions should

accord must be found somewhere ; this can only be in " a Mind Whose thoughts are the standard of truth and falsehood alike in Morality and in respect of all other existence." ¹

This argument is not overthrown by pointing to the differing verdicts of different consciences. Conscience tells us that the right is to be followed ; it does not infallibly tell us what is right. Nor is it overthrown by theories as to the growth of conscience ; we have to consider Conscience, like Reason, in its mature development.

The moral progress of the world, which is visible if we take a sufficiently wide outlook, forms another argument in this direction. The moral government of the world, and the education of the human race, by whatever processes this may be carried on, points to a moral Governor and Educator.

The force of these arguments is cumulative. They are strands in a rope, rather than links in a chain. If one is regarded as inadequate, the others remain in full force. Yet they supplement one another ; the first points specially to God's power, the second to His wisdom, the third to His righteousness and goodness. These arguments are not the source of our belief in God's existence, but they explain and justify it.

Our religion is often charged with being " anthropomorphic," i.e. it is asserted that our conception of God is simply that of a magnified man. But our conceptions of everything must necessarily be human conceptions, and expressed in human language. We can only speak of divine and spiritual things under human figures and images, unless we prefer either images of a

¹ Rashdall, *Theory of Good and Evil*, ii. 213.

lower order, of things instead of persons ; or else mere abstractions, mostly negative (e.g. " the Unconditioned " or " the Absolute "), which fail to meet the need of a personal God in moral relation to His worshippers. Yet we must beware of pressing human analogies too far, especially those drawn from human imperfection or passions. Many Scripture passages containing such analogies are of course merely figurative. We regard God as having only those qualities which we esteem excellencies, and as having these in perfection, free from our limits or defects, though they are not different in kind with Him from what they are with us. Man was made in the image of God ; therefore the highest attributes of man must have something answering to them in the divine nature.

(For Theism, see Caldecott, *Philosophy of Religion* ; Flint, *Theism* ; Illingworth, *Personality, Human and Divine* ; Ballard, *Theomonism* ; Gwatkin, *Knowledge of God* ; Aubrey Moore, " Christian Doctrine of God," in *Lux Mundi* ; Tennant, " Physical Science and the Being of God," in *Cambridge Theological Essays*.)

II. ONE GOD (Nicene Creed, perhaps originally in Roman Creed)

Monotheism is an essential part of the theistic idea of God. There cannot be two First Causes, self-existent and supreme. Polytheism acknowledges a number of gods, with power limited in sphere or in degree ; this is opposed to the unity of nature, and is inconsistent with a high conception of Godhead.

The Unity of God is a great Old Testament doctrine. The two other theistic religions, Christianity and Moham-

medanism, both inherit it from Judaism. The Jewish confession of faith ("the Shema") begins with Deuteronomy vi. 4, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord."¹ This truth was, however, only gradually learnt by the Jews; their tendency to idolatry was overcome only by the Exile. But by New Testament times they had thoroughly learnt it, and were ready to die for it.² It is taken for granted in the New Testament, and only occasionally reiterated there, e.g. I Corinthians viii. 6: "We know . . . that there is none other God but one." Thus in estimating the New Testament language about Christ it must be borne in mind that it is used by men who are convinced, in opposition to the heathen, that there is but one God.

But the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is no contradiction of this Unity. It does not mean that there are three separate Gods acting in harmony, but simply that there are three eternal distinctions, three modes of existence, in the One Divine Nature.

This doctrine has only faint foreshadowings in the Old Testament. The most important of these are, (a) the Theophanies, i.e. the appearances of the Angel of Jehovah, identified in some way with Jehovah Himself, so foreshadowing the Incarnation; (b) the personification of "Wisdom" in Proverbs: this is carried farther in the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, and is followed by that of the Word or Logos in the Targums and Philo; (c) the mentions of the work of the Spirit of Jehovah. Such phrases as "Let *us* make man," Genesis i. 26, cf. iii. 22, xi. 7; or the threefold blessing, Numbers vi.

¹ For alternative renderings see R.V.

² As when the emperor Gaius determined to set up his image in the Temple.

24-27; or the threefold ascription, Isaiah vi. 3, are merely hints in the same direction; this was not the meaning they originally conveyed. All these Old Testament fore-shadowings are of little value controversially.

The doctrine of the Holy Trinity is not precisely laid down in Scripture, but it combines and harmonizes several truths clearly taught there: (a) the Unity of God, which the Old Testament repeatedly affirms and the New Testament presupposes; (b) the Divinity of Christ; (c) the Personality of the Holy Spirit. It is implied by the repeated association of Father, Son and Spirit as sources of blessing and salvation; compare Matthew xxviii. 19, 2 Corinthians xiii. 14, also 1 Corinthians xii. 4-6, Ephesians iv. 4-6, 1 Peter i. 2, Jude 20-21, Revelation i. 4-5, etc. So Clement of Rome, the earliest Christian writer outside the New Testament (A.D. 95) writes (c. 46), "Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that is shed forth upon us?" and (c. 58), "As God liveth and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Ghost, who are the faith and hope of the elect." The word *Τριάς* is used in the connexion first by Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 180), of God, His Word and His Wisdom; the word Trinitas first by Tertullian (about 220).

But difficulty was soon felt in harmonizing the Unity of God with the Divinity of Christ. One school of thinkers¹ (e.g. Artemon and Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, 260) held that Christ was simply a Man supernaturally born, endued with special graces and finally exalted into a state of indissoluble fellowship with God. Others,² e.g. Praxeas and Sabellius, a Libyan bishop of the third century, denied the separate Personality of the Son and

¹ "Adoptionist Monarchians."

² "Modalistic Monarchians."

of the Spirit, regarding these names as denoting merely aspects under which the One God reveals Himself to us. This view is called Sabellianism. A little later, and largely in opposition to this, Arius declared that Christ, though pre-existing as a spiritual Being before the creation of the universe, and far higher than all other created spiritual beings, was yet not eternal and not truly God. In opposition to such speculation, the Church was forced to define its position, to think out its real tenets and state them explicitly and systematically. The result is the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which was worked out into its full shape mainly by Athanasius and the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil and the two Gregories, in the East, and by Augustine in the West.

This doctrine is stated broadly in the Athanasian Creed. "There is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is all one. . . . The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. And yet there are not three Gods, but one God." But this statement needs, and has received, careful explanation.

There is only One Divine Nature or Essence (*οὐσία, φύσις*), which is indivisible. The entire fulness of this one undivided Essence of Godhead, with all its attributes, subsists in each Person of the Blessed Trinity. But in God there are three "Persons," i.e. three modes of subsistence of this one indivisible divine essence (*μὴ ἀοὐσία ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν*). "Person" is an inexact and inadequate, though the most convenient term. As applied to man it means a self-conscious, limited, separately acting being. But in reference to the Godhead it means something between (a) mere manifestation or personi-

fication, and (b) the independent exclusive individuality of a human being. The Persons of the Trinity are mutually inclusive, not exclusive; they are in One Another by mutual indwelling (*περιχώρησις*); where one is present the whole Godhead is present.¹ And the Father is the sole Fount and Source of Being from whom the Son and the Spirit eternally derive their divine Being.

We have then to guard against three errors: (a) Trithemism—conceiving the Three Persons, on the analogy of three human persons, as practically three distinct Gods, though always acting in harmony. This is not consistent with there being only *One* God. (b) Sabellianism, i.e. regarding the names Father, Son and Spirit as simply denoting aspects under which the One God reveals Himself to us. (c) Arianism, or its modern development Unitarianism, denying the Godhead of Christ and of the Spirit, or the Personality of the latter. It is most easy to fall into one of these errors in trying to avoid another. No view that has ever been held on this subject is free from difficulty; we ought not to expect the nature of God to be easy to comprehend. But rival views, even if they are philosophically tenable, commonly force or ignore the statements of Scripture. A difficulty lies in the fact that the Father, the Son and the Spirit are nearly always mentioned in Scripture in connexion with their work “for us men and for our salvation” (“The Economic Trinity”).² It is not easy to infer with any certainty from such passages their mutual relation in themselves, independently of their work for us (“The Essential Trinity”). Yet the work of each must be appropriate; the Economic Trinity must point to the Essential Trinity.

¹ Ottley, *Incarnation*, ii. 231 f.

² See Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, 185 f.

Still we must remember that our doctrine can only be a rough approximation to the truth, though probably the closest approximation obtainable.

The doctrine of the Trinity could not possibly be discovered by reason alone. It rests on facts coming to us solely from revelation, though reason has had great part in combining and harmonizing these facts. But it is agreeable to reason. We are bound to think of God as self-sufficing, without need of created things. Yet the mind shrinks from the thought of a solitary Unit, without any object of perception, knowledge or affection, and so with those faculties lying completely dormant. If God is essentially Love, He must have had eternally some object of love; this could only exist within the Godhead itself. Thus the doctrine of the Trinity supplies an eternal Object of knowledge and affection, and an eternal outflow of them, without making the universe necessary to God.

(On the Trinity see Ottley, *Doctrine of the Incarnation*; Gibson, *Thirty-Nine Articles*; Illingworth, *Personality*, and *Doctrine of the Trinity*; Gore, *Bampton Lectures*.)

III. THE FATHER

This phrase has a threefold meaning:—

(a) God is the Father of all created things, especially of all mankind. He is the Source of life of all, and the Preserver of all. In this sense we have James i. 17, “the Father of lights”; Acts xvii. 28, “we are also His offspring”—quoted with approval from Cleanthes or Aratus. So early Christian writers speak of “the Father and Creator of the whole world” (Clement of Rome, 19); “God the Father and Lord of the universe” (Justin,

Apology, i. 61). Some passages which may belong to this head more probably belong to the next.

(b) He is especially the Father of redeemed mankind, whom He has adopted as His children and brought to know Him. This was the position of the nation of Israel in the Old Testament; e.g. Exodus iv. 22, "Israel is my Son, my Firstborn"; Deuteronomy xxxii. 6, "Is not (the Lord) thy Father that hath bought thee?"; Isaiah lxiii. 16. In the Apocrypha God has come to be regarded also as the Father of the individual faithful Israelite (Wis. ii. 16; Sir. xxiii. 1-9). This individual application is made by our Lord to His disciples; "your (thy) Father" in this sense occurs fifteen times in the Sermon on the Mount; the special title of address in prayer is to be "our Father." God's Fatherhood (whether in this or in the former sense) remains even though His children disregard Him; but it is felt only when they turn to Him (Luke xv.). The apostles speak repeatedly of the privilege of being children or sons of God, (e.g. Rom. viii. 14-17; Gal. iv. 5-7; 1 Pet. i. 14-17, 1 John iii. 1-2). The title assures us of His personal love and care; that He is not merely a remote "Supreme Being" or "First Cause," but One who cares for each of us individually and personally. It calls us in our turn to love, trust, devotion, and service.

(c) But He is specially called "The Father" as being the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The following words of the Creed, "His only Son," and the words of Baptism from which the Creed starts, show that this is the primary meaning here. Christ constantly speaks of "my Father," or "the Father," as well as of "your Father." He and we are alike sons of God, but He is such essentially by nature; we by adoption and grace. So He said

(John xx. 17), "I ascend unto my Father and your Father." "He makes no such conjunction of us to Himself, as to make no distinction between us and Himself ; so conjoining as to distinguish, though so distinguishing as not to separate us." ¹ The unique relation between the Son and the Father appears, Matthew xi. 25-27, John v. 19-23. The distinction between them has its ground in the fact that "The Father is made of none, neither created nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone, not made nor created but begotten." The Father is the Fountain of Godhead ; but this does not constitute a difference of nature or of duration, only one of order. The subordination of the Son consists in the fact that while the Father has His nature of Himself, the Son has His from the Father.²

(See articles in Hastings' *D.B.*, "God" (Sanday), and "Children of God" (Candlish).)

IV. ALMIGHTY

This represents the Greek word *παντοκράτωρ* (occurring, e.g. Rev. i. 8) ; which means not merely "able to do all things" (*παντοδύναμος*), for which truth see Job xlii. 2, Matthew xix. 26 ; but "all sovereign, ruling over all things." The term expresses His universal and eternal sovereignty, His all-sustaining power, which upholds the universe, His control of the world and of all forces in it.

The existence of evil, physical and moral, in the world, is often thought to discredit His rule and His power, or, granting His power, to discredit His goodness. But creation necessarily implies self-limitation³ ; finite

¹ Pearson, 31.

² Pearson, 34-39 ; see further article, "His Only Son."

³ See Goodwin, *Foundations*, 60 ; Tennant, *Cambridge Theol. Essays*, 96.

things once brought into being with certain properties and qualities must develop and work according to those qualities, and not otherwise. Much of physical evil springs from the work of natural forces which are on the whole of great service to the world and to mankind (e.g. "fire is a good servant but a bad master"). Unless God were to be working a constant series of miracles, often to counteract the effects of human ignorance, carelessness or vice, these forces must sometimes injure. The recognition of this leads to human advances in knowledge or carefulness; so tends to develop mankind. Moral evil, and much of physical evil also, is due to the wrongful use of man's powers.¹ God's omnipotence must be regarded as in harmony with His other attributes and so limited by them; it does not extend to self-contradiction; e.g. "He cannot lie." So also it does not extend to what is a contradiction in terms; e.g. to make a square circle. Therefore since He has been pleased to create free moral beings, these beings must be able to choose and do evil as well as good; otherwise they would not be free moral beings at all. Moral progress results from struggle against moral evil. God's rule is exercised by inspiring and guiding men, not by constraining them; by using the forces of nature, not by suspending them.

The Almighty is "our Father," both able and willing to help His people; using in their behalf the same almighty power by which He raised Christ from the dead (Eph. i. 19).

V. MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

These words are one of the latest additions to the Apostles' Creed, being found there first in the Gallican Sacra-

¹ Cf. Prof. Macalister, *Expositor*, January, 1910, p. 14.

mentary of the seventh century¹; but they occur in Eastern creeds as early as Irenaeus (185). The Nicene Creed adds "and of all things visible and invisible." "Heaven and earth" make up the whole universe; "things visible and invisible" include not only all natural objects, animate and inanimate, but also all spiritual beings and unseen powers. This clause was directed against the ideas of the "Gnostics," who tried to account for the existence of evil in the world by supposing its Creator to be not the Supreme God but only an emanation from Him, an inferior God with inferior power and wisdom.

The clause asserts that the universe did not come into being, or reach its present condition, of itself, by chance or by necessity; but at the will of God, Who continues to conserve and rule it (cf. Heb. xi. 3). Creation is not merely a shaping of previously existing matter; it includes the first bringing of this matter into being.

This doctrine is not seriously affected by theories as to the length of time the earth has existed, or the processes of development by which it has come into its present form. Such theories, however well established, throw light only on the means and method of development, not upon its Ultimate Source and Guide. But they lead us to lay stress upon the Immanence (i.e. indwelling) of God in the universe. The conception of God as dwelling in the universe, constituting its life, working all the "laws of nature," not merely interfering occasionally from outside, has always had a place in Christian thought, from Scripture onwards. We read in Acts xvii. 28, "In Him we live and move and have our being"; and in St. John we have the doctrine of the Word, which was worked out fully by the Greek Fathers. But the progress of scientific

¹ It is uncertain whether they occur in the Creed of Niceta.

thought has brought God's immanence into special prominence of late. The doctrine of His omnipresence is simply one aspect of it.

But this is only one side of the relation of God to the universe, and if it is unduly pressed, it runs into Pantheism, a theory which identifies in some sense God and the Universe, making Him nothing more than its life or unifying principle, thus denying His Personality. It further tends to necessitarianism—"all is nature and development and necessity"—so that Man's free-will disappears. This is perhaps the most dangerous philosophical rival to Theism.

But God is not only Immanent in the universe, but also Transcendent ; outside and above it, not bound up with it ; its Maker and Ruler, and not simply its Life. This is of course the more usual conception of God, not only in ordinary thought but also in Scripture. In the eighteenth century, however, this side was unduly emphasized, so as to lead to Deism. This theory regards God as the Creator, Who made the world ages ago, but has left it to itself, to develop merely by its own inherent energies. This tends to deny Providence as well as Miracle. But in Scripture the thought of Creation leads direct to that of Providence. "My help cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth" (Ps. cxxi. ; so cxxxvi., etc.). This clause of the Creed is thus of practical value, not merely historical or scientific.

(See, on these two last phrases, Westcott, *Historic Faith*, Note 5 ; J. H. Bernard in Hastings' *D.B.*, article "Nature" ; Illingworth, *Divine Immanence* ; Ballard, *Theomonism*.)

The second division of the Creed speaks of the *Son* and His Work. This includes Articles II-VII.

ARTICLE II

THE LORD'S PERSON—WHO HE IS

"And in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord."

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of His Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made."

I. JESUS

THIS human name points to a historic person of true human nature.

It is the Greek form of "Joshua," which in later times was written Jeshua (Ezra iii. 2, etc.). This was the name of the leader of the Israelites in their conquest of Canaan; he is twice called "Jesus" in the Authorized Version of the New Testament (Acts vii. 45, Heb. iv. 8; R.V., "Joshua"). It was borne also by many others, both in Old Testament and New Testament times: the Bethshemite, 1 Samuel vi. 18; the governor of Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxiii. 8; the son of Sirach, author of the book "Ecclesiasticus" (l. 27), Jason, the apostate High Priest, 2 Maccabees iv. 7, Josephus, *Ant.* XII., v. 1; several High Priests mentioned by Josephus; Bar-Jesus, Acts xiii. 6; Jesus Justus, Colossians iv. 11.

The full name "Jehoshua" displays its meaning—"Jehovah is salvation." It was given to our Lord with full consciousness of meaning. Matthew i. 21, "He shall save His people from their sins"; Luke i. 31, ii. 21,

He is the Saviour of the world, John iv. 42, cf. Luke ii. 11, Acts iv. 12, xiii. 23, etc. He revealed the way of salvation; secured it by His perfect life of holiness and obedience, and by His sacrificial death; and bestows it on those who believe in Him. As Saviour, He not only delivers us from the penalty of sin, but imparts to us perfect soundness of character and life, delivers us out of temptation, and gives us victory in our conflicts with evil, both in our own hearts and in the world around us.¹

But while considering the full meaning of this name we must not forget that it was a fairly common one. It would not have struck men's minds as an unusual name, and so called attention to its Bearer. He lived for years the life of an ordinary man, bearing an ordinary name. Thus the name "Jesus" reminds us not only of His work, but of His true humanity.

II. CHRIST

This is, on the other hand, not a personal name, but an official title. It is the Greek word answering to the Hebrew "Messiah" (cf. John i. 41, iv. 25), and like it means "Anointed," i.e. consecrated to some office. The Jews gave this title to the King and Deliverer whom they were expecting. The double name "Jesus Christ" identifies the historical Jesus of Nazareth with this Deliverer. He was known to all as "Jesus," but was termed "the Christ" only by those who believed in Him as Lord and Saviour—cf. John i. 41, Mark viii. 29. The Gospels were written to induce or confirm this faith in Him as the Christ, John xx. 31; and the preaching of the apostles had the same aim, cf. e.g. Acts ii. 36, "God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye

¹ *Lias, Nicene Creed*, 116.

crucified"; xvii. 3, "This Jesus whom I preach unto you is the Christ." Thus we declare by this title the continuity of God's historical revelation; that the Old Testament prepared for our Lord and led up to Him, and that He fulfilled its types and anticipations.

Among the Jews anointing accompanied appointment to high office, symbolizing the bestowal of God's favour and grace. Thus *Kings* were anointed (Saul, 1 Sam. x. 1; David, xvi. 13, 2 Sam. ii. 4; Solomon, 1 Kings i. 39; Jehu, 2 Kings ix. 1-6; Joash, xi. 12; Jehoahaz, xxiii. 30); also Priests (Exod. xxix. 7, 1 Chron. xxix. 22); in one case the word is used of the appointment of a Prophet (1 Kings xix. 16).¹ But the Jews in New Testament times seem to have used the title "Messiah" only of the ideal future *King*; it is so used in some typical or prophetic passages of the Psalms (e.g. ii. 2, xx. 6, lxxxix. 38, 51), and perhaps in an obscure passage of Daniel (ix. 25-26). It occurs in this sense repeatedly in the Targums (free renderings of the Old Testament into Aramaic, the common language of the later Jews), and other Jewish writings. But it did not (usually at least) call to mind the ideals of the suffering Servant of Jehovah, the Prophet or the Priest, which equally foreshadowed our Lord.

But in the light of their fulfilment in Jesus all these images were found to combine in Him. He fulfilled all the ideals of Israel, did the work of the ideal nation, was the ideal King, Prophet, Priest, Servant of Jehovah. All prophecies and types relating to each of these found their fulfilment in Him; and whenever he was acknowledged as the Messiah the fulfilment of some at least of these was recognized. The work of the apostles, especi-

¹ Cp. Ps. cv. 15.

ally but not only among Jews, was largely taken up with showing the complete fulfilment of them all in Him. They declared that God had anointed Him (Acts iv. 27, x. 38) with the Holy Ghost and with power. This has a special reference to His baptism, when He was acknowledged as the well-beloved Son and endowed with the Spirit for His work. The term "Christ" covers His whole office as Teacher, Mediator, Lord and Judge.

Messianic passages may be divided into two classes, though in some cases it is doubtful to which class a passage should be assigned. (*a*) Some are directly Messianic, the prophet had the expected Messiah in his mind when he spoke or wrote; (*b*) others are indirectly Messianic, the writer "had some Old Testament officer or personage in his mind, but spoke of him according to the idea of his office or function or character; and this ideal is transferred to Christ in the New Testament as being actually realized only in Him."¹

The work of a prophet is to speak for God, to reveal to man His character and will; to be, so to speak, His mouthpiece. So in Exodus iv. 16, vii. 1-2 the relation of Aaron to Moses in speaking to Pharaoh is compared to the relation of the prophet to God. Moses was, so to speak, to inspire Aaron; Aaron was to declare the mind of Moses. Prediction is thus not the whole of prophecy, though a distinctly important element of it.² The great Messianic passage about the Prophet is Deuteronomy xviii. 15-19, where the primary reference no doubt is to the succession of prophets whom God would raise up in

¹ Davidson, art. "Prophecy and Prophets," *Hastings' D.B.*, iv. 124.

² The prefix "pro" in "prophet" probably means "for" rather than "fore" or "forth."

Israel, to declare His will, thus keeping His people from needing to resort to sorcerers and diviners. But this succession only partially fulfilled the promise; no prophet was regarded as equal to Moses; none fully revealed the whole character and will of God. So the Jews looked for a greater prophet. They did not generally identify him with the Messiah (John i. 21, 25, vii. 40, 41; but cf. vi. 14-15). But the apostles realized that this was fulfilled in Jesus (Acts iii. 22, vii. 37). He perfectly revealed the nature and will of God (John i. 18, Heb. i. 1-2); confirmed His teaching by His life and death, and commissioned His followers to preserve and propagate it.

He is called a Priest in Psalm cx. 4. (It is immaterial whether this Psalm, so often quoted in the New Testament, is directly or only indirectly Messianic.) This is interpreted of Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews (v. 6, vii. 1 f.), which brings out the special nature and efficacy of His Priesthood. He offered Himself, not animal sacrifices, as a sin-offering to God; He has entered the very presence of God as our Atonement, and so abides; He intercedes for His people (Heb. vii. 25, Rom. viii. 34), and blesses them (Acts iii. 26, cf. Gen. xiv. 19, 1 Chron. xxiii. 13).

The prophecies or types of His Kingship are very many, e.g. Psalm lxxii., Isaiah ix. He accepted or claimed the title, John i. 49, xii. 13-15, though guarding against the popular worldly misconception of it, xviii. 33-37. Compare the angel's message, Luke i. 32-33. As King, He rules and protects His people; gives them a law of life, and enables them to keep it; preserves in temptation, supports in affliction, delivers from enemies. He gradually subdues all that opposes His kingdom; and will

finally, at His return, put down the last enemy, even Death (1 Cor. xv. 25-26).

(On Messianic Prophecy, see Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy*; also article "Prophecy and Prophets," in Hastings' *D.B.* iv.; Ottley, *Incarnation*; Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*.)

III. HIS ONLY SON

This expresses His unique relation to the Father. He is His Son by nature, not by adoption; His Godhead is one with that of the Father. The Latin for "only" here is "unicus" ("unique"), but some authorities have "unigenitus," "only-begotten." This answers to *μονογενής* in the Nicene Creed, which comes from John i. 18, iii. 16, 18, etc. The same unique relation is expressed, John v. 18, "His own Father"; and Romans viii. 3, 32, "His own Son."

The title "Son of God," or, when God is the speaker, "My Son," is given in the Old Testament to the nation of Israel (Exod. iv. 22-23, Hos. xi. 1); or to its divinely appointed King (2 Sam. vii. 13-14), a type of the Messiah (Ps. ii. 7). It originally expressed simply divine choice, favour, support. The title came to be used as an official designation of the Messiah, and some of our Lord's contemporaries may have meant nothing more than this when they used the title (e.g. Matt. xiv. 33, xxvi. 63). But His own use of the title and its correlative "The ('My') Father" means clearly something beyond this. This use is not confined to St. John's Gospel, though most frequent there; it occurs more than once in St. Mark (e.g. xiii. 32), and repeatedly in the other Synoptists. The title implies an essential natural relation to the

Father whom He came to reveal.¹ Cp. especially Matthew xi. 27, Mark xiii. 32, John v. 17-18, x. 30, and Matthew xxviii. 19. "A scientific examination of the Gospels, whatever else it brings out, brings out this, that the root-element in the consciousness of Jesus was a sense of Sonship to the Divine Father, deeper, clearer, more intimate, more all-embracing and all-absorbing, than ever was vouchsafed to a child of man."² In the Epistles the title "Son of God" is evidently the standing formula to express what we mean by the Divinity of Christ; cp. Romans i. 4.

Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia in the fourth century, maintained that the title "Son" belonged only to the Incarnate Christ, Who had pre-existed simply as "the Word." Some modern writers also maintain that in Scripture and in the earliest Fathers the title "Son" or "Only Son" refers simply to the Incarnate life, not implying any pre-existent Sonship. But Justin Martyr and Hermas, about 150, like later Fathers, distinctly use the title "Son" of His pre-existent relation to the Father; and this is the most obvious sense of a number of Scripture passages, e.g. Romans viii. 3, Galatians iv. 4, Colossians i. 13-15, Hebrews i. 1-2. Dr. Sanday sums up this inquiry: "The Son is so called primarily as incarnate. But that which is the essence of the Incarnation must needs be also larger than the Incarnation. It must needs have its roots in the eternity of Godhead."³

Marcellus was led to take up the above position mainly from a wish to cut the ground from under the Arians. They, like Christians in general, held the title "Son"

¹ Ottley, *u.s.* 75.

² Sanday, *Hastings' D.B.*, iv. 575, art. "Son of God."

³ Sanday, *l.c.* p. 579.

to belong to Christ before His Incarnation as well as after it. But they interpreted it as implying non-eternity and essential inferiority to the Father. The Son, they declared, is shown by His very title to have had some beginning of existence and so not to be eternal; "there was when He was not." (Arius carefully avoided saying, "there was a *time* when He was not," holding His generation (origin) to have been beforetime began; but succession of events must introduce the idea of time.) He can be only the very highest of created spiritual beings, not truly God, though somehow a fit object of worship. This view laid such stress on a secondary element in sonship (succession in time) as to overthrow the essential element (likeness of kind).

The Son has indeed His Being from the Father; but He is "Begotten from everlasting." We have to do not with an event which once took place, even in the remotest past, but with an eternal fact in the divine nature. The phrase "eternal generation" which expresses this is due to Origen.

Christ's ability to be a perfect Representative and Revealer of the Father, is bound up with His Sonship. This sets Him on a completely different footing from the prophets, who only revealed portions of the divine will (Heb. i. 1-4). He Himself claimed this superiority, this unique relation to the Father, in the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, recorded in three Gospels (Matt. xxi. 33, etc.); also unique ability to reveal God (Matt. xi. 27). Again, His Sonship makes His Incarnation and Sacrifice a crowning proof of the love of God (John iii. 16, Rom. viii. 32, 1 John iii. 16), and makes Him able to atone for all sins, and to be a living Saviour to all His people.

(See Sanday, art. "Son of God" in Hastings' *D.B.*;

Ottley, *Incarnation*, 75; Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, 24; Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, ch. viii., Note B.)

IV. "OUR LORD"

This expresses His unique relation to us, and His supreme claim upon us. Our Lord and Master calls for the full devotion of all His people. He is indeed "Lord of all" (Acts x. 36, Phil. ii. 9-11); but specially Lord of His own people, whom He has called to Himself. They are His disciples and His servants; they must trust in Him, obey, serve, and follow Him.

"The ('Our') Lord" is a common title of Christ in the Epistles; cf. especially 1 Corinthians viii. 6, "One God the Father . . . and one Lord, Jesus Christ." It hardly occurs in the Gospels, apart from the address *Κύριε*, except in St. John and a few passages peculiar to St. Luke (see, however, Mark xi. 3, "The Lord hath need of him"). Since *Κύριος* ("Lord") is the regular Greek rendering of Jehovah, and so is constantly used of God, we find (*a*) phrases used of Jehovah in the Old Testament are applied to Christ in the New Testament,¹ and (*b*) it is sometimes difficult to be sure whether the Father or the Son is meant by this title. These cases show how readily this title, though not necessarily expressing His Divinity, only His sovereignty, came to denote His sharing in the Godhead. The confession "Jesus is Lord" is put side by side with belief in His resurrection, as securing salvation (Rom. x. 9); it can be made only in the power of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 3).

V. THE LORD'S DIVINITY

This doctrine does not depend only upon a few isolated texts. These only bring into clear light a structure resting

¹ See p. 44 for details.

upon much broader foundations. Sketched very briefly the evidence is as follows :—

1. Old Testament and other Jewish foreshadowings and anticipations. These are not of much value as proof, but they support truth otherwise learnt and fit in with it. These include—

(a) Hints of plurality of Persons in the Godhead (Gen. i. 26, etc.).¹

(b) "Theophanies," i.e. appearances of "the Angel of the Lord," representing Jehovah in human form and practically identified with Him for the time. This identity is seen, e.g., in the appearance to Hagar, Genesis xvi., "The Angel of the Lord said unto her, I will greatly multiply thy seed" (v. 10) . . . She called the name of the Lord that spake with her, Thou art a God that seeth (v. 13). Cp. also Exodus iii. 2-5, Joshua v. 13-vi. 2, Judges vi. 12-16, etc. Justin Martyr and other early Fathers identify the "Angel of the Lord" with the Word or Son of God Himself. Augustine, however, regards these theophanies as self-manifestations of God through a created being. But in any case they lead up to the idea of a permanent Incarnation, by showing that God might be "manifested in flesh."

(c) The personification of the Wisdom of God in Proverbs i.-ix. and later in the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; and cognate with this, that of the Word ("Memra") in Palestinian Jewish teaching, and of the Logos ("Reason" rather than "Word") in Alexandrian teaching, especially in Philo. The general thought of such expressions is that of a mediator between God and the world, partaking of God's nature.²

2. The Lord's claims in the Gospels. These are bound

¹ See above, p. 23.

² See later, p. 46.

up inseparably with the whole Gospel narrative of His ministry and teaching. "Apart from this Self-assertion, which is the most prominent feature in the Gospel portrait, Jesus Christ loses all distinctness of personality."¹ These claims run through the Synoptists as well as the Fourth Gospel. He claims to forgive sins (Mark ii. 5-10); to rule the whole soul of man, superseding all other ties (Luke ix. 23-26, 59-60, xiv. 26-33); to repeal and revise the provisions of the ancient Law (Matt. v. 21 f., xix. 7 f.); to be Judge of the world (Matt. vii. 22-23, xvi. 27, xxv. 31, John v. 27-29). He shows complete exemption from consciousness of sin or moral imperfection; and this although upholding the loftiest standard of righteousness and holiness. He claims to possess unique knowledge of God, and to be the full revelation of God (Matt. xi. 27, John xiv. 7-10). In the Fourth Gospel He terms Himself the Bread of Life, the Light of the World, the Resurrection and the Life. There too we read that the Jews interpreted Him as placing Himself on an equality with God, (v. 17-18), and He did not disavow their interpretation. So also He said, "I and My Father are one" (x. 30). His self-assertion is too prominent in the Gospels to be due to later thoughts of disciples. It must be part of the Lord's original teaching. But it is justified only by His being truly God. The old alternative holds good, "Christus aut Deus aut homo non bonus." He can be perfect as man only if He is truly God; otherwise there appear defects in His self-knowledge or His humility.

(See on this point Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, iv.; Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, i.; Ottley, *Incarnation*, 66 f.; Nolloth, *The Person of Our Lord*, 52 f.; Streatfield, *Self-Interpre-*

¹ Streatfield, *Self-Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 46.

tation of Jesus Christ; D'Arcy, art. "Consciousness," *Dict. Christ and Gospels*, i. 363 f.)

3. We find prayer offered to Him by the first Christians, e.g. by Stephen, Acts vii. 59-60; Paul, 2 Corinthians xii. 8-9. Christians were known as those who called upon His Name, Acts ix. 14, 21; 1 Corinthians i. 2 (Rom. x. 13-14). He is joined with the Father as the Source of all blessing in the opening greeting of nearly all St. Paul's epistles; so especially 1 Thessalonians iii. 11.

4. Language used of Jehovah in the Old Testament is applied to Christ in the New Testament, e.g. John xii. 41, "These things said Isaiah because he saw His glory and he spake of Him," refers to Isaiah vi.; Romans. x. 13 echoes Joel ii. 32; 1 Corinthians i. 31 = Jeremiah ix. 24; 2 Thessalonians i. 9 = Isaiah ii. 21; Hebrews i. 10 = Psalm cii. 25.

5. The most direct statements are in St. John's Gospel. John i. 1, 14, "The Word was God" . . . "the Word became flesh"; and xx. 28, St. Thomas' confession, "My Lord and my God." (In i. 18, a strongly supported reading is "God only-begotten".)

In St. Paul's writings we have two probable but not quite certain statements. Romans ix. 5, "Christ . . . Who is over all, God blessed for ever" (see, however, other punctuations and consequent renderings in R.V. mg.); and Titus ii. 13, R.V., "Our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ." (A.V. and R.V. mg., "The great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ".) Elsewhere, while not precisely calling Christ "God," probably in order to avoid all suspicion of polytheism on the part of either Jews or Gentiles, he nevertheless ascribes to Him all the attributes of God. In Philippians ii. 6, he speaks of His pre-existence "in the form of God," i.e. in the nature of God,

with His characteristic and essential attributes. In Colossians i. 15 he calls Him "the Image of the invisible God, the Firstborn of all creation," i.e. the Revelation and Revealer of Deity, prior to all creation.¹ So also in Hebrews i. 3, He is called "the brightness (radiance, effulgence) of God's glory," "perfectly manifesting His attributes and excellencies"; and "the express image of His being," "embodying in a distinct personality the totality of Godhead."²

In Acts xx. 28, there is some uncertainty about the words "feed the Church of God, which He purchased with His own blood." There is strong evidence for reading "the Lord" instead of "God"; and even if this be not adopted, "the blood that was His own" (τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου) may mean simply "the precious blood of His dear Son." But R.V. retains the common rendering.

In 1 Timothy iii. 16 the reading is almost certainly "Who" not "God"; 1 John v. 7, the three Witnesses in heaven, is undoubtedly a spurious verse.

6. But apart from the interpretation of special verses the whole tenor of the Epistles and Apocalypse, in speaking of the glorified Lord, Who is ever saving His people, is consistent with nothing short of His true Divinity. This is as strong in the earliest epistles (e.g. 1 Thess.) as in the latest; it is assumed as known, rather than deliberately taught.

V. THE TITLE "WORD" (Λόγος).

This is confined in the New Testament to St. John's writings, between which it is a strong link—John i. 1-14;

¹ See Lightfoot *in loc.*; and cp. John i. 15, πρῶτός μου.

² Ottley, *u.s.* p. 122.

1 John i. 1 (R.V. text) ; Apocalypse xix. 13. Probably Hebrews iv. 12 is not personal. The general meaning of this title is the Revelation of God ; He reveals God just as our words reveal our minds. Later Greek philosophy, both Platonic and Stoic, dwelt much on the thought of the Logos or Divine Reason. So does Philo, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher. He means by it the operative wisdom of God ; the power by which He comes into contact with the universe. This is the mediator of creation and of all revelation. Philo is probably not always quite consistent in his view of this Power ;¹ it is sometimes a mere abstraction ; at others, strongly personified if not regarded as actually personal. But St. John's use of the term connects more closely with the Palestinian conception (as found in the Targums) of the Word (Memra) of the Lord. Starting from such Old Testament expressions as " By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made " (Ps. xxxiii. 6), and " He sendeth His Word and healeth them " (cvii. 20), the term had come to be used generally of God coming into contact with men, probably from a desire to avoid anthropomorphism ; e.g. Moses at Sinai brought the people forth to meet the Word of God.² While Philo's dominant thought is that of the Divine Reason, St. John's is that of the Divine Word, the manifestation of the Divine will in action.³ He probably adopted the term because it was familiar in both Jewish and Gentile circles. It presents Christianity as the highest manifestation of the same Divine Person, Who has ever been the medium through whom God has been manifested in the creation and maintenance of the universe. He is

¹ But cp. Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*.

² For other examples see Westcott, *Introd. to Gospels*, 152.

³ Ottley, *u.s.* 139.

"the immediate expression and vehicle of God's mind and will." ¹

(See Ottley, *Incarnation*, 139 f. ; Westcott, *Intro. to the Study of the Gospels*, ii. ; Purves, art. "Logos" in Hastings' *D.B.* ; Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, and art. "Philo" in Hastings' *D.B.* Extra Vol.)

VII. PHRASES OF THE NICENE CREED

1. "*Begotten of His Father before all worlds*" (see above, p. 40).

2. "*God of God*," i.e. God proceeding from God (θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ). This clause was in the Creed of the Council of Nicaea, but not originally in *our* "Nicene" Creed. It came into the Latin version of it at an early date. It is hardly needed with "very God of very God" immediately following.

3. *Light of Light*, i.e. Light proceeding from Light. He is Himself the Light of the world (John viii. 12, i. 4, 9, xii. 35-36, 46), and came from God Who is Light (1 John i. 5), cf. 2 Corinthians iv. 4-6, Hebrews i. 3.

4. *Very God*, i.e. true, genuine God (ἀληθινός), not possessing the title only in an unreal and inferior sense, as the Arians allowed it.

5. *Begotten, not made*. His Being is communicated or derived from the Father ; but He is not a creature, however far above all creatures, as the Arians contended. They appealed to Proverbs viii. 22, an accepted Christological passage, where the Greek version renders "The Lord *created* me (Wisdom)"; but the Hebrew word probably means "*possessed*;" ² also to Acts ii. 36, Hebrews iii. 2,

¹ Purves, 135.

² See Ottley, *u.s.* 305, note.

where the thought is of *appointment* to office ; and to Colossians i. 15, " Firstborn of all creation," on which see above, p. 45.

6. *Of one substance with the Father*—ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ. The Arian controversy centred round this phrase, which had to be introduced in order to exclude Arianism. When it was decided at the Council of Nicaea to set up a creed as a test of orthodoxy, it was soon found that, if this were confined to Scripture expressions, the Arians would evade the test by twisting these phrases in their own way.¹ So in order to guard the faith it was found necessary to introduce non-Scriptural phrases, such as ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ and ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός. Many non-Arians disliked the phrase, partly simply because non-Scriptural, partly as tending to Sabellianism, or as materializing. Many moderately conservative men preferred ὁμοιούσιος, " of like essence " ; at one time the vague ὅμοιος, " like," found favour, and was forced upon the Councils of Seleucia and Ariminum,² 359. But the extreme Arians declared the Son to be ἀνόμοιος, " unlike." The objection to such terms as " like " or even " like in essence " is not their incorrectness, but their vagueness ; likeness may be compatible with great differences, so that Arianism was not excluded by such phrases. This was gradually realized, and as ὁμοούσιος had been shown to be used without any Sabellian intent, it was accepted by such thinkers as Meletius, Cyril and Basil.

" Substance " is not a very happy rendering of οὐσία, which means " essence " or " nature," by the possession

¹ *Athanasius de Decretis*, 20. See Gwatkin, *Arian Controversy*, 34.

² Several British bishops were present here.

of which a thing is what it is. "Substance" has far more material associations.

The real question at issue through the controversy was whether Christ had the divine nature fully, or only partially, or not at all.

(On the history of the controversy see Ottley, *Incarnation*; Eck, *Incarnation*; Gwatkin, *Studies in Arianism and Arian Controversy*.)

7. *By Whom* (δι' οὗ, through Whose agency) *all things were made*. The Son is the Agent through whom creation was effected. This is taught by John i. 3, "All things were made through Him"; Colossians i. 16, "In Him were all things created . . . all things have been created through Him and unto Him"; Hebrews i. 2-3 and i. 10-12, applying to Him the words of Psalm cii. 25-27. The Word is thus the Mediator in nature as well as in grace. "The Eternal Word [holds] the same relation to the Universe which the Incarnate Christ holds to the Church. He is the source of its life, the centre of all its development, the mainspring of all its motions."¹ The Greek Fathers made much of this; we commonly ignore it. But it (a) enables us to combine God's immanence with His transcendence; (b) reminds us that the world belongs properly to Christ; (c) makes the Incarnation simply the crowning point, so to speak, of His whole connexion with the world. Not only the creation and conservation of the material universe, but all earlier and partial revelations to man of truth and of God, proceed from Him.

(On this whole Article see Ottley, *Incarnation*; Eck, *Incarnation*; Gibson, *Thirty-nine Articles*; Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*; Nolloth, *Person of Christ*; Streatfield, *Incarnation*.)

¹ Lightfoot, on Colossians i. 16; see Introd. p. 114.

ARTICLE III

THE INCARNATION

"Who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

"Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man."

IN this article as in others of this division of the Creed, we have to consider both the fact and its nature and meaning.

Characteristically the Apostles' Creed here briefly states the fact; the Nicene enlarges and draws out its significance. The latter part of the Athanasian is a careful statement of the nature of the Incarnate Son.

Further, in considering the fact or event, two things need to be distinguished: (*a*) the actual fact of the Incarnation, that the Son of God became man; and (*b*) the mode by which this came about, the Virgin Conception and Birth. The former is most essential and accordingly most completely attested. The whole of the New Testament points to the Incarnation, and is founded upon it. The mode of it is, on the other hand, distinctly taught only in the opening chapters of two Gospels. Thus St. John's writings are full of the thought of the Incarnation; cf. e.g. John i. 14, "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us"; and 1 John iv. 2, "Every spirit that confesseth Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh is of God." But he

nowhere speaks of the mode of the Incarnation, the Lord's miraculous birth.¹ It is the same with St. Paul. Philippians ii. 5-8 is one of the clearest possible expressions of the fact of the Incarnation ; cf. also 2 Corinthians viii. 9, Galatians iv. 4 ; Romans viii. 3, and 1 Timothy iii. 16, whether the true reading is " God " or " Who." But St. Paul says nothing directly about the miraculous birth.² Another important New Testament passage on the Incarnation is Hebrews ii. 14. " The Incarnation is the great fundamental fact of revelation ; it is that which binds God and man together ; it is that upon which the Gospel rests. The Virgin-birth is but the means by which the end was accomplished." ³

The Virgin-birth is recorded in the opening chapters of the First and Third Gospels. These give quite independent accounts, not always easy to combine into one narrative ; e.g. the Third Gospel knows nothing of the visit of the Magi, and would imply that the Holy Family returned direct from Bethlehem or Jerusalem to Nazareth. But the two accounts agree (a) in the central fact of the Virgin-birth ; (b) that it took place through the operation of the Holy Spirit ; (c) that Mary was espoused to Joseph at the time ; (d) that the Child was to be named " Jesus " ; (e) that He was born at Bethlehem in Judaea, and (f) brought up at Nazareth ; also (g) in the approximate date, " the days of Herod the King." ⁴

St. Matthew's account is specially concerned with Joseph. It may have come to the early Palestinian

¹ Cf., however, John i. 13, v.l. " qui natus est," who *was* born ; this was read by Irenaeus and Tertullian.

² See, however, p. 57.

³ Goodwin, *Foundations*, 124 ; cf. Robinson, *Incarnation*, 5-8.

⁴ Plummer, *Dict. Christ. and Gospels*, art. " Annunciation " ; Orr, *Virgin Birth*.

Church through the "Lord's Brethren," reaching them perhaps through Clopas, Joseph's brother.¹ It is clearly an integral part of the First Gospel; this is shown by the frequent notices of the fulfilment of prophecy which characterize these chapters as well as this whole gospel. At the same time the very fact that some of these applications seem far-fetched (ii. 15, 18, 23) shows that the narrative has not grown up under the influence of the study of prophecy; the events have come first, and have only later been recognized as fulfilment of prophecy. There is no evidence that Isaiah vii. 14 was ever referred by the Jews to the Messiah, and Isaiah lx. is nowhere quoted in Matthew ii.

There is a complication of various readings in i. 16.² The Sinaitic Syriac diverges farthest from the ordinary text, reading, "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the virgin, begat Jesus, who is called the Messiah." So verses 25, 26. "He took his wife, and she bare to him a son" (omitting ³ "and he knew her not until"). But as we thus have a contradiction between single expressions and the point of the whole narrative, this authority cannot as it stands give us the original text. Possibly the peculiarities are due to Ebionite ⁴ influence, not very consistent or thorough-going in its alterations. (Or the genealogy may possibly have once existed in a separate document, giving the Lord's legal descent.)

But St. Luke's account is much the fuller. (Matt. i.-ii. contain, apart from the genealogy, 31 verses; Luke i.-ii.,

¹ Cp. Hegesippus *ap.* Eusebius, III. xi.

² Fully discussed by Thorburn, *Virgin Birth*, 5 f.

³ With the Old Latin Codex Bobbiensis (k).

⁴ Jewish Christians adhering to the Law; most of them denied His Divinity.

apart from the preface, 128.) Here again, internal evidence is decisive for these chapters forming an integral part of this Gospel; they are full of St. Luke's characteristic expressions.¹ Marcion² indeed omitted them from his edition of this Gospel, but this loses all weight when we remember that he left out everything before iv. 16, except part of iii. 1, to mark the time. Yet the general tone of these narratives points back to a much earlier date than that usually assigned to the composition of this Gospel. The language and thoughts of the Canticles are thoroughly Jewish. The hopefulness of blessing for Israel as a whole, expressed in the narrative of the Annunciation and in the "Benedictus," can hardly proceed from a period when it was continually becoming clearer that as a nation they had rejected the Lord. The simplicity of the Christology points in the same direction. St. Luke must himself have believed in the Lord's pre-existence, which is assumed in the Corinthian epistles as commonly known (1 Cor. xv. 47; 2 Cor. viii. 9), and is brought out fully in St. Paul's later writings. But in these chapters the Conception and Birth seem to be regarded as the origination of the Lord's Personality rather than as the mode of His coming from another order of being into this. St. Luke makes a special claim to possess accurate information from good authorities, and this "from the first" (i. 3), which seems to refer especially to those earlier chapters. They indeed seem to rest directly or indirectly on the account of the Blessed Virgin herself; cf. especially ii. 19, "Mary kept all these things, pondering them in her heart." So in verses

¹ Cf. Plummer's *Commentary*, p. lxx.

² About 140. His great tenet was that the God of the Old Testament was a different and inferior Being to the God of the New Testament.

34-35, 48-51. Some critics would omit i. 34-35, thus removing all distinct mention of the miraculous. But there is practically no textual evidence whatever in favour of the omission. (One Old Latin MS., "b," carelessly anticipates in verse 34 Mary's following words of verse 37, but gives verse 35.) "These verses have from the point of view of textual criticism as good a right to a place in the Gospel as any verses. The arguments brought forward against them are wholly subjective, and . . . appear both far-fetched and mechanical."¹

There is a historical difficulty in the mention of the census as taken under Quirinius (Cyrenius), ii. 2. He was undoubtedly "Legatus" of Syria, A.D. 6-7, and as such took a census of Palestine after the deposition of Archelaus; this led to the revolt of Judas of Galilee (cf. Acts v. 37). It is therefore argued that St. Luke's census is antedated and unhistorical, and therefore discredits his account of the Nativity. But it has been proved² from recently discovered papyri that there was a periodical census every fourteen years in Egypt, and therefore presumably elsewhere. The year 6-7 A.D. coincides with one of these periods; fourteen years earlier would bring us to B.C. 9-8. Judaea was not directly under the Roman emperor at this time; but Herod was only a dependent king and just then in bad odour with Augustus. Thus the census would naturally extend to his country; but it might well have been somewhat delayed, and then taken in a manner not offending Jewish feelings, according to tribes and families. The only certain date about our Lord's birth is that it

¹ Chase, *Cambridge Theological Essays*, 409. Verse 35 is used by Justin Martyr; ἐπέρχουσαι ἐπὶ ὕψιστος, ἐπισκιάζειν are decidedly Lucan.

² Especially by Sir W. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*

preceded the death of Herod, which took place almost certainly shortly before the Passover of B.C. 4; Matthew ii. 15-16 suggest that the birth was some little while before this, possibly a year or two.¹ Thus a date B.C. 7-6 would suit both the Biblical statements and the probable date of the census. The era "A.D." was first calculated by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century and is certainly several years ² out; the day, December 25, cannot be traced back earlier than Hippolytus, about 210 A.D., and probably rests not on tradition but on a calculation making March 25 the date of the Crucifixion.³

There remains a difficulty about the mention of Quirinius. In B.C. 9-6 the Legatus of Syria was Sentius Saturninus, under whom indeed Tertullian, probably using some authority independent of the Gospels, says the census took place. In B.C. 6-4, till after the death of Herod, the post was held by Quintilius Varus. On the other hand, there is evidence that Quirinius twice held office in Syria. It is possible (a) that he, holding the office from B.C. 4 onwards, completed a census begun by his predecessor; or (b) that he held some extraordinary office in Syria, while Saturninus or Varus was actually "Legatus."⁴ But the fact of the census is the important point, not what official took it.

(See Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* Turner, art. "Chronology of New Testament" in Hastings' *D.B.*; Knowling, *Dict. C.G.*, art. "Birth of Christ".)

In opposition to the Virgin-birth stress is laid upon the

¹ So Eusebius or Origen in Cramer's *Catena*.

² Recognized by Usher, in dates in A.V. mg.

³ Turner, Hastings' *D.B.* i. 404 f.; Maclean, *Dict. Christ and Gospels*, "The Christian Calendar," i. 261.

⁴ So Ramsay.

silence of the other New Testament writers. But silence does not necessarily mean ignorance, if the writer's scope and aim do not require special mention of a fact. Nor are we bound to suppose that all the New Testament writers must have known all the facts about our Lord's life. St. Mark's Gospel represents the earliest Gospel preaching, which was limited to the witness borne by the Twelve to the things which they themselves had seen and heard, from the baptism of John down to the Lord's resurrection and ascension (cf. Acts i. 21-22, x. 37-41). Anything earlier than this lay outside St. Mark's scope.

Again, the Epistles are mainly incidental writings, and are all written to men familiar with the historical basis of the Christian faith. This is therefore taken for granted, and points of it are only mentioned incidentally, usually as a starting-point for doctrinal or ethical teaching. Silence as to our Lord's birth is paralleled by equal silence about His baptism or His miracles; nothing is said of Nazareth or Capernaum any more than of Bethlehem.

Again, the truth of the miraculous birth is quite consistent with its not having been generally known or taught at first. To have proclaimed it prominently from the beginning would simply have called forth slander and blasphemy. The Lord's claims were based on what was common knowledge, or could be attested by many witnesses. But it was natural for believers to inquire how it was that the Son of God came into the world. These chapters afford an answer and no other answer is given in the New Testament. St. John indeed records the people's difficulty in reconciling the Lord's claims with the prophetic connexion of the Messiah not with Galilee, but with David and Bethlehem (vii. 41-42). This has

been held to imply that he did not know, or else rejected, the story of the birth at Bethlehem. But he must have had some way of reconciling this contradiction ; if he does not give it, it is because all his readers knew it. Similarly the mention of our Lord as the son of Joseph is merely a witness for the current opinion of his contemporaries.

Though St. Paul does not directly mention the miraculous birth, some of his language suggests it ; e.g. his conception of Christ as the second Adam, the man from heaven, 1 Corinthians xv. 45-47 ; cf. also Galatians iv. 4. We find this fact universally maintained in the early Church after New Testament times, even by most heretical sects (except the Cerinthians and some of the Ebionites). It is upheld in the second century by Justin, Aristides, and Ignatius, as well as by Irenaeus.¹ Thus Ignatius says (Eph. 19), " The prince of this world was ignorant of the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing." Aristides, in his statement of the tenets of the Christians, says that the Son of the Most High God came down from heaven and was born of a Hebrew Virgin. And while all those who held Him to be divine accepted this birth, it was admitted by some who did not accept His divinity.

Various stories, Classical, Egyptian and Oriental (especially Buddhist), are often put forward as parallels to the narratives of our Lord's miraculous birth, either to show how naturally such a belief could grow up, or else as having actually suggested it. This argument is met by noticing (*a*) the thoroughly Jewish character of our narratives : this is almost fatal to theories of Gentile influence ; (*b*) their purity of tone, very different from most of the alleged parallels ; (*c*) their early currency.

¹ Also the newly discovered " Odes of Solomon."

Our present First and Third Gospels were written at latest¹ some ninety years after our Lord's birth, and their narratives rest on older sources. Thus they differ from stories about mythical heroes of old, or from the Buddha stories, which cannot be traced back to an earlier date than some centuries after Buddha's death. Thus these alleged parallels differ in essential points ; in some cases their resemblance is quite superficial.

(See Tisdall, *Mythic Christs and the True*.)

This miracle is in keeping with what we know of Christ's Person, Character and Work. It is not an isolated marvel. It is not unnatural that the Son of God should have come into the world in an unprecedented way. His life was attested by miracles and crowned by the great miracle of the Resurrection ; it is not unfitting that it should have begun with one. He came to be the second Adam, the new Head of humanity ; it is fitting that there should have been a new departure at His birth. And such a birth is in keeping with His perfect sinlessness, showing how He could be free from the taint of hereditary sin.

" The supernatural Birth of Jesus is not our warrant for belief in His Divinity and His sinlessness. But belief in His Divinity and His sinlessness is our warrant for regarding His supernatural Birth as being not merely possible or credible, but as being wholly congruous with the uniqueness of His personality, and therefore as serving as a welcome illustration and confirmation of the contents of Christian experience." ²

(On this subject see Orr, *The Virgin Birth* ; Robinson, *Thoughts on the Incarnation* ; Thorburn, *Doctrine of the Virgin Birth* ; Knowling, *The Virgin Birth*, and art. in

¹ St. Luke may well have written as early as 60 A.D.

² Kilpatrick, *Dict. C.G.* i. 812. Art. " Incarnation."

Dict. C.G., "Birth of Christ,"; Gore, *Dissertations*; Eck, *Incarnation*; Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* Kilpatrick, *Dict. C.G.*, art. "Incarnation.")

The Incarnation took place "in the fulness of time." Peace prevailed throughout the Roman Empire; old barriers, material and social, were broken down; travel was constant and easy; one language, Greek, was current throughout the most important part of the Empire; colonies of Jews with their Scriptures were scattered over the world. Old religions were outworn; Judaism was fast becoming a mere system of rules; Greek and Roman paganism had failed to satisfy the wants of men's moral and religious nature, and men were grasping at Eastern worships to fill the void. Philosophy had done its best, but had failed to influence more than a comparative few. The world was ripe for Him when He "took upon Him to deliver man."

The Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation is that our Lord is "perfect God and perfect Man," as Divine as the Father and as human as ourselves. He has two natures, Godhead and Manhood, but is only one Person, "not two but one Christ."

Besides the Arian view, which denied His true Godhead, three other views on this subject were repudiated in turn by the Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries.

(a) Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea in Syria, held that Christ's Manhood was itself incomplete; the Logos or Godhead supplied the place of the highest element in man's nature, the rational soul (*νοûς* or *πνεῦμα*). He maintained that this was the only means of ensuring the sinlessness of Christ. This view was condemned at Constantinople, 381.¹

¹ So the Athanasian Creed declares Christ to be—"Perfect Man, consisting of a rational soul and human flesh."

(b) Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, or at all events his followers, possibly misunderstanding his teaching, practically divided Christ into two Persons. The Virgin's Son, who could not properly be called God, was joined to the Eternal Word ; but the Manhood and the Godhead were not intimately united into one Person. This view was condemned at Ephesus, 431. The Nestorians, however, formed a flourishing church in the East, reaching at one time as far as China ; but now only the Assyrian Christians remain. The " Christians of St. Thomas " in S.W. India, also descend from them.

(c) Eutyches, an abbot of Constantinople, held that the Human nature was absorbed and lost in the Divine, " as a drop of vinegar is swallowed up in the sea." This view was condemned at Chalcedon 451, but continued to be held by many, who were known as Monophysites (" only one nature ") or (from one of their leaders, Jacob el Baradai) Jacobites. From them the Coptic, Abyssinian and Armenian Churches descend, besides an important Syrian Church.

Each of these views results in no true Incarnation. According to Nestorianism the Word was united with one single human being, not with humanity as a whole ; according to the other two views, Christ's humanity is foreign to ours ; He cannot be really our Example or our High Priest.

The Catholic doctrine is that in becoming incarnate the Son laid aside much of the manifestation of the glory of God, but never ceased to be God. Yet He was perfect Man, not only with a human body, but with a human mind, soul, feelings, will. The Definition of the Council of Chalcedon¹ is the great statement of this doctrine, though

¹ See e.g. Heurtley, *De Fide et Symbolo*, 23 f.

the question of one or two wills came up later. Hooker ¹ says that four words sum up Christian belief on this subject, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀσυγχύτως—"truly," "perfectly," "indivisibly," "distinctly." Christ is *truly* God, as against Arianism. He is *perfectly* Man, with reasoning soul as well as flesh, against Apollinarianism. The two natures are *indivisibly* joined in one Person, against Nestorianism; yet *distinctly*, without confusion, each nature retains its own properties, neither is absorbed in the other, against Eutychianism.

Some early heretics denied the reality of the Lord's humanity, holding it to have been a mere appearance.² It is a much more plausible error to deny or ignore the *completeness* of His humanity, to regard the Godhead as simply occupying the human body (Apollinarianism), or as setting aside human knowledge and human will (Eutychianism). But the Nicene Creed reminds us that He was not merely incarnate (made *flesh*) but that He was made *man*, fully, not partially;³ and Scripture is clear as to the completeness of His humanity; in this the Fourth Gospel is as clear as the others. Passing over passages which speak of bodily feelings, hunger (Matt. xxi. 18), thirst (John iv. 7, xix. 28), weariness and sleep (John iv. 6; Matt. viii. 24), we read that as a boy He increased in wisdom as well as in stature (Luke ii. 52); He felt wonder (Matt. viii. 10), anger (Mark iii. 5), sorrow and sympathy (Luke xix. 41; John xi. 33-35); asked questions from real need of information, in some cases at least (Mark v. 30, vi. 38, ix. 21; John xi. 33). He experienced

¹ V. liv. 10.

² Hence they were called Δοκηταί from δοκέῖν, 'seem.'

³ Epiphanius interprets, "Taking perfect manhood, soul and body and mind and all things belonging to man, apart from sin."

strong temptations (Matt. iv.); had man's natural aversion from suffering (Matt. xxvi. 38 f.), but learnt obedience from it (Heb. v. 8). We read of His soul (Matt. xxvi. 38), spirit (Luke xxiii. 46; John xiii. 21), and will (Lukexxii. 42; John vi. 38).

The title "Son of Man" is used almost exclusively by Himself; by disciples only in Acts vii. 56 (Stephen). It is disputed whether this was a recognized title of the Messiah, from Daniel vii. 13; it is certainly so used in the "Similitudes" of "Enoch," but in John xii. 34 the people seem to doubt the identity. The title is associated sometimes with the Lord's humiliation and suffering, sometimes with His glory and majesty.¹ It may go back to Psalm viii. 4, rather than to Daniel vii. 13, and thus put forward a side of the Messiah's work not usually recognized. It would seem to have hinted and yet veiled the Lord's claim to be the Messiah; He is true Man—hence the associations of the title with humiliation and suffering; and also ideal Man, Head of the human race—hence its association with glory.

(See articles in Hastings' *D.B.*, "Son of Man" (Driver); "Jesus Christ" (Sanday); "Kingdom of God" (Orr); also Oesterley, *Doctrine of the Last Things*; Westcott, note on John i. 51.)

Since two natures, Godhead and Manhood, are united in the one Christ, properties which really belong to only one of these natures may be ascribed to Him, even when designated by a title which is His by reason of His possession of the other nature; though what belongs to one nature cannot be declared abstractly of the other. E.g. 1 Corinthians ii. 8, "They . . . crucified the Lord of glory." (John iii. 13, Acts xx. 28, are often quoted as

¹ See Oesterley, *Last Things*, 158 f.

other Scripture instances of this, but the text of both is doubtful.) So the birth of Christ may be called that of God,¹ though not of the Godhead; and the Council of Ephesus in opposition to the Nestorians decided that *θεοτόκος*, "Mother of God,"² was a fit title for the Blessed Virgin, since she bore Him Who was God, though not the mother of His Godhead. This interchange of attributes is called "*Communicatio idiomatum*." It is quite legitimate, but rather poetical and rhetorical, and must not be allowed to confuse our minds. The thought of an actual mutual influence of the two natures upon one another is attractive, but difficult to work out without doctrinal error on one side or the other, especially in a Monophysite direction.

Much has been written lately about our Lord's knowledge. Two things are reasonably clear. (*a*) His human knowledge was not absolutely divine and complete; it did not amount to omniscience. This would be inconsistent with true human development and experience. As a child He grew in wisdom. He asked questions, obviously in some cases with the object of gaining information which He did not otherwise possess; He declared His ignorance of the time of the End (Mark xiii. 32; "the Son" probably means Himself *as incarnate*). There are indeed many instances of supernatural knowledge in the Gospels, but they differ only in degree, not in kind, from that ascribed to prophets. "There is no trace in the Gospels of His possessing supernatural knowledge of human and secular things beyond what was necessary for His work."³ But (*b*) there is no trace of His being liable to error as a Teacher,

¹ So from Ignatius onwards.

² An inexact but inevitable rendering.

³ D'Arcy, *Dict. C.G.*, i. 365.

or under misconception as to His work. "It is surely beyond question that our Lord is represented in the Gospels as an infallible no less than as a sinless Teacher. . . . He speaks in the tone of authority only justifiable to one who taught with absolute certainty the word of God."¹ Error here would spoil the object of the Incarnation. But a difficulty remains as regards incidental references, allusions, or illustrations in His teaching. It may be maintained either (*a*) that as these form part of His teaching, their accuracy is guaranteed ; or on the contrary (*b*) that as they do not form the real point of the teaching, their accuracy is not so guaranteed. Again (*c*) in some such cases, and even sometimes where the teaching appears at first sight to be direct, the Lord may have met His hearers on their own ground, and adapted His language to their ideas. This question has been specially raised in connexion with reference to Old Testament books or history, or with accounts of demoniacal possession. The above considerations show that our Lord's words cannot be confidently regarded as absolutely settling these questions.

(See Gore, *Dissertations* ; Mason, *Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth* ; D'Arcy, *Dict. C.G.*, art. "Consciousness" ; Weston, *The One Christ*.)

The Incarnation means the establishment of union between God and man, originally made in the divine image. It is more than the necessary condition of the atoning Death (cf. Heb. ii. 14). In the Middle Ages Duns Scotus and his followers maintained that the Incarnation is independent of the Fall, and would have taken place in any case, only under different conditions. This is held by some thinkers now, but seems very speculative ;

¹ Gore, *Dissertations*, 80.

we cannot really say how human nature might have developed apart from sin. But however that may be, our Lord's whole life contributes to our salvation. He came to save us by His revelation of the Father in word and life, by His example, by His fulfilment of the Law as our Representative, as well as by His atoning death. And the Incarnation is the condition of His High-Priesthood and Mediation. By His entry into our human life He has consecrated the whole of that life in all its stages; and He is now, as the second Adam, the Head and Life of all His people. All this flows from His becoming man without ceasing to be God. He becomes Man that we might in Him receive our full perfection, be brought to God and become like God.

(On this Article generally, see Ottley, *Incarnation*; Eck, *Incarnation*; Gore, *Bampton Lectures and Dissertations*; Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*; Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*; Streatfield, *Incarnation*.)

ARTICLE IV

CHRIST'S DEATH

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried."

"And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate ; He suffered and was buried."

THE Creed passes over the works and words of our Lord's ministry, coming at once to its end, His Death and Resurrection. This is opposed to the view which makes His Teaching, in particular the Sermon on the Mount, the most important part of Christianity. The Creed, like the New Testament Epistles, lays stress on what He was and what He did, rather than on what He taught ; and regards His Death and Resurrection as most essential objects of our faith.

The Lord's Death is an admitted fact of history. His Sufferings and Death are recorded at length by all four evangelists. "Christ crucified" was the great subject of the apostles' preaching, and every detail was of the greatest interest to early believers. But we have also independent witness to the fact. Tacitus, the Roman historian, writing of the persecution of the Christians under Nero, on the charge of having set fire to Rome, says that the Christians took their name from Christ, Who in the reign of Tiberius suffered punishment at the hands of the procurator Pontius Pilate.¹ Probably

¹ *Annals*, xv. 49. Our Lord is mentioned also by Josephus ; but the genuineness of the passage is uncertain.

the mention of Pilate in the Creed is intended as a rough fixing of the date, connecting with other history. He was of equestrian rank, appointed by Tiberius as procurator of Judea, A.D. 26, and holding office for nine or ten years. We learn from Philo and Josephus that his rule was neither just nor popular. Philo denounces him as merciless and obstinate, and speaks of his corruption, insolence, and cruelty, his murders of men untried and uncondemned, and his "never-ending, gratuitous, and most grievous inhumanity."¹ Josephus tells us of troubles between him and the Jews because he brought military standards into Jerusalem, bearing the figure of the emperor, and spent part of the sacred treasure in building an aqueduct. He was finally deposed by the emperor Gaius ("Caligula") upon a complaint of the Samaritans (A.D. 35-36), and is said to have killed himself. Thus the mention of him serves to remind us that we have to do with historical facts in an historical period in a well-known country, not with legend or myth.

The year of the crucifixion cannot be certainly fixed, but was probably either A.D. 29 or 30; possibly 33. Mr. Turner favours the date, March 18, A.D. 29.²

The old Roman Creed ran simply, "Crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried." Each of our present phrases adds a little to the preceding one. "Suffered" relates to His Passion as a whole (so in His announcements, Mark viii. 31, ix. 12, also Acts i. 3). "Crucified" declares how He underwent the extreme penalty; and "dead" the result of this.

Crucifixion was a Roman, not a Jewish mode of capital punishment, though probably introduced from the East.

¹ *Legatio ad Gaium*, 38.

² Hastings' *D.B.*, art. "Chronology of N.T.," 413-415.

("Hanging on a tree," Deuteronomy xxi. 22, etc., probably means not crucifixion, but exposure of the corpse after execution in some other way.) It was the punishment of slaves; free Roman citizens were not liable to it. We read of it repeatedly in Palestine, as the penalty of robbery or rebellion. It was a most shameful, as well as a most painful death, and was regarded by the Jews as being under the curse of God.¹ That the Lord endured the Cross is to the apostle the crowning point of His self-sacrifice (Phil. ii. 8, "obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the Cross"; cf. Heb. xii. 2). But the victory of the Crucified has made the Cross the symbol of redemption. When the Roman emperors became Christians, crucifixion was disused. It is a sign of the widespread influence of the Lord's Death that the Cross has ceased to be suggestive of most painful and revolting thoughts, and is honoured more than any other symbol.² We find it hard to realize the force of such sayings as Matthew x. 38, xvi. 24, as they would have struck the original hearers. They call not merely to ordinary pieces of self-denial, but to the uttermost self-sacrifice for the Master's sake, if He calls. Yet the apostles, far from keeping silent about the crucifixion, which marked the depth of their Master's humiliation, gloried in it (1 Cor. ii. 2; Gal. vi. 14). It was indeed a stumbling-block to the Jew, and foolishness to the Greek; but they saw in it the crowning point of His obedience, self-sacrifice, love to man; and the means by which our redemption and salvation were secured.

His crucifixion ended in Death. His death is distinctly recorded by all four Evangelists; it was proved

¹ Deut. xxi. 23; see Lightfoot on Gal. iii. 13.

² See Goodwin, *Foundations*, 142.

by the piercing of His side (John xix. 34) ; and certified by the centurion in charge (Mark xv. 44-45), who had probably had considerable experience in such cases. One attempt to account for the belief in our Lord's Resurrection has indeed been to suppose that He did not really die, but only swooned and revived in the cool tomb. But (a) this theory is extremely improbable in itself ; crucifixion nearly always ended in death, even if the victim were taken down alive, and received the greatest care.¹ (b) It is opposed to the plain facts of the narrative ; not only the soldiers, but Joseph of Arimathaea must have been satisfied of the reality of the death. (c) The resuscitation of a person all but dead could not have given the immediate conviction of a triumph over death.

Death meant for Him as for us, separation of soul and body. It was in one sense a voluntary death (John x. 17-18) ; it was His wish to die ; He had come into the world for this very object. He could have escaped it by a miracle (Matt. xxvi. 53), but knew it to be morally necessary.² The value of His death consists in its being a voluntary sacrifice (cf. Heb. ix. 13-14). But the guilt of those who brought it about is in no way lessened by this, nor by the fact that it was in accordance with the purpose of God (Mark xiv. 21 ; Acts ii. 23). God overruled their crime, but it was none the less a crime because blessing has resulted. Acts must be judged by their motives or intentions, not by their unforeseen consequences.

The Burial seems especially mentioned in the Creeds, as by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 4), because, with its atten-

¹ Cf. Josephus, *Life*, 75.

² Cf. Lidgett, *Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, ch. ii.

dant circumstances, it proves the reality both of the Death and of the Resurrection. Burial did not among the Romans usually follow crucifixion ; the bodies were left hanging on the cross. But such removal was according to Jewish law (Deut. xxi. 23), and to have left bodies hanging during the Passover Sabbath would have been an abomination. So St. John tells us that the Jews themselves petitioned for the removal of the three bodies, while Joseph of Arimathaea was granted the Lord's. "A greater assurance of His death we cannot have, than that His body was delivered by His enemies from the cross, and laid by His disciples in the grave."¹

We have to consider not only the fact of our Lord's Death, but also its meaning, the Atonement. Redemption is in Scripture specially connected with His death. He "was crucified for us" ; "suffered for our salvation," "died for our sins."

His death was that of the Messiah ; not incidental but essential to His work. St. Paul's message was "Jesus Christ and Him crucified" (1 Cor. ii. 2). During our Lord's ministry, even when His disciples were convinced that He was the Messiah, it was very hard for Him to make them understand that He was to suffer (Matt. xvi. 21, etc.). This formed no part of their idea of the Messiah's work, and was never realized by them until it actually took place. Part of His teaching after the Resurrection was devoted to this. "Behoved it not the Christ to suffer such things?" (Luke xxiv. 26, 46). We find the apostles proclaiming this from St. Peter's speech at Pentecost onwards. Christ's sufferings were not an accident or difficulty, but part of God's purpose, both necessary and effective. The Old Testament

¹ Pearson, p. 222.

foundation would lie in such Psalms as xxii. and lxix., and especially in the prophecy of the Servant of Jehovah, Isaiah l.-liii. (cf. Acts viii. 32-35), also Zechariah xiii. 7; and in various types like that of the Paschal Lamb.

Scripture is clear on the fact of the Atonement, but offers no exact explanation of it. It tells us repeatedly that we are redeemed by Christ's blood, reconciled to God by His death, or that He died for us and for our sins; but it nowhere works such statements up into a precise and careful explanation how Christ's death has these effects. Hence springs the possibility of different views as to the nature of the Atonement; and we must remember that it is not the acceptance of a special doctrine of the Death of Christ that atones for sin, but the Death itself; we are saved by His atonement, not by the acceptance of any theory of the Atonement.¹ So Butler says, "How or in what particular way Christ's Death was efficacious, there are not wanting persons who have endeavoured to explain; but I do not find that Scripture has explained it."² But this no more renders it undesirable to form some definite opinion on the matter, than the unsystematic character of the statements of Scripture about our Lord's Person should keep us from having a definite conception of It.

The English word "Atonement" originally meant "setting at one," "bringing together," "reconciliation"; "to atone" meant "to set at one" (Acts vii. 26), i.e. to reconcile. So Shakespeare, *Richard II*, I, 1, 203, "Since we cannot atone you."³ So in Romans v. 11, A.V., "atonement" is the translation of *καταλλαγή*, literally, "reconciliation," which is its rendering elsewhere in

¹ Cf. Dale, *Atonement*, ch. i.

² *Analogy*, ii. 5.

³ Other illustrations in Maclear, *Creeds*, in loc.

A.V. and here also in R.V.; the verb *καταλλάσσω* is always rendered "reconcile" in both versions. But the English words have now somewhat changed their meaning. To atone for anything now means to make up for it, make amends or satisfaction for it, while "atone-ment" means "amends," "reparation," or "satisfaction," rather than "reconciliation." In the Old Testament it represents a Hebrew word better rendered "propitiation."¹ Thus in considering the doctrine of the Atonement it is a mistake to press the derivation of the English word or its use in Romans v. 11, which represents only one aspect of the doctrine.

Again, we must not press illustrations too far, as if any contained the whole truth; e.g. the idea of "ransom" or redemption was unduly pressed by many Fathers, by inquiring *to whom* the price can have been paid and deciding that it was to the devil, to whom men have become lawfully enslaved. The use of the term for Israel's deliverance from Egypt (Exod. vi. 6, xv. 13, etc.), where there is no question of a price paid to the Egyptians, might have guarded them against this. Illustrations should never be regarded as exact parallels, to be pressed in every detail. Accordingly, illustrations of the nature and effect of the death of Christ are analogous to the actual fact only at single points. They are, however, tests of the accuracy of a theory; it is false or incomplete if it does not account for these descriptions or explain them.² Nor may illustrations ever be pressed negatively, e.g. the absence of all mention of sacrifice or propitiation in the Parable of the Prodigal Son does not show that such propitiation has no place in God's relation to us.

¹ See Driver in Hastings' *D.B.*, art. "Propitiation."

² See Dale, *u.s.* ch. ix.

None of Christ's work has any counterpart in this parable.

One common Scripture illustration or description is "*Ransom*" or *Redemption*. (λύτρον, Matt. xx. 28; ἀντίλυτρον, 1 Tim. ii. 6; λύτρωσις, Heb. ix. 12; πούλυτρωσις, Rom. iii. 24; Eph. i. 7, etc.). Under the Law, a ransom given for persons rescued them either from slavery (e.g. Lev. xxv. 47-49) or from death (e.g. Exod. xxi. 30, also xxx. 12-13). So Christ's Death redeems us from the guilt, penalty, and bondage of sin. The thought of a price paid sometimes falls into the background, the idea being simply that of emancipation or deliverance; but elsewhere it is clearly present (e.g. Matt. xx. 28; 1 Pet. i. 18). Such passages show that our redemption was not an easy but a costly work on God's part.

Another phrase is "Propitiation" (ἱλασμός, 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10; ἱλαστήριον, Rom. iii. 25). Christ is the propitiation for our sins. The word ἐξιλάσκεσθαι is common in the Greek Old Testament, meaning to atone for, or make propitiation for. It is used especially of sin-offerings (cf. Heb. ii. 17), of Christ's work as High Priest. But the phrase "propitiate God" is non-Scriptural (except Zech. vii. 2); the Old Testament phrase is to make atonement or propitiation either for men, or for sins, or for things defiled by sins. It must of course be God who is propitiated; but the phrase shows that the thought is rather of removing a hindrance to God's favour than of appeasing One who is angry with a personal feeling against the offender. God's essential or covenant love lies behind. At the same time God's essential hostility to sin is taken for granted; the sacrifice is needed to remove the guilt from God's sight. The conception of Christ as a sacrifice, especially, though

not exclusively, as a sin-offering, runs through the New Testament from John the Baptist's announcement of Him as "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." It is a special point of the Epistle to the Hebrews, e.g. ix. 26, "He appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." The Old Testament sacrifices were only shadows of His perfect sacrifice. "The Death of Christ is the means of bringing sinful men into new relation with God, as the result not merely of a change in themselves, but of the divine favour of which it is the justification."¹ But here again the sacrifice sets free the love of God, but does not originate this love, which has indeed originated it. "God loved us and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins."

(See Driver, Hastings' *D.B.*, art. "Propitiation"; Paterson, ditto, art. "Sacrifice"; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 91, 129.)

If we could arrive with certainty at the meaning attached to sacrifice in the days of the apostles, we should clearly understand their doctrine of the Atonement, which is repeatedly expressed in sacrificial imagery. But there is still an element of uncertainty about the primitive meaning of sacrifice, and there is still greater uncertainty as to the survival or development of these ideas in New Testament times. It does not follow that the primitive idea of sacrifice, or even one thought by moderns to underlie the Old Testament sacrifices, was present to the apostles. Thus this line of inquiry is disappointing, its results being too uncertain.

(See Paterson, as above; also Beeching, *Biblical Doctrine of Atonement*.)

Connected with this is the meaning of the "Blood" of

¹ Lidgett, *u.s.* p. 51.

Christ. This is commonly taken as the equivalent of His *Death*. But a widespread opinion interprets it to mean, or to include, His present Life. This is based on Leviticus xvii. 11, "The life of the flesh is in the blood . . . it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life" (R.V.). It is undeniable that the essence of a sacrifice lay not in the death of the victim, but in the offering of its blood, i.e. the surrendering of its life to God. The question is whether this life is regarded simply as surrendered or as continuing with God. Those holding this latter view explain the blood of Christ as meaning not merely His Death but His life active beyond death. Thus, e.g., 1 John i. 7 means that the life of Christ is continually communicated to the believer for growth and cleansing. But this explanation is very uncertain, and the more usual interpretation of the phrase is probably nearer the truth, Christ's Blood meaning His Death regarded as a sacrifice.

(For the interpretation of "Blood" as including continued life, see Westcott, Additional Note on 1 John i. 7; otherwise, see Forsyth, *Cruciality of the Cross*, 177 f.)

Another aspect of the effects of Christ's Death is Reconciliation (*καταλλαγή*), Romans v. 11, 2 Corinthians v. 18. This is, as Bengel says, two-sided—the removal of God's alienation from us (2 Cor. v. 19) as well as of our alienation from Him (v. 20). It is indeed never said in Scripture that God is reconciled to man.¹ But in Scripture "to be reconciled to any one" often means to appease him, to induce him to lay aside hostility, not only to lay aside hostility on one's own part (1 Sam. xxix. 4; Matt. v. 24). Moreover the context of the passages

¹ Except several times in 2 Maccabees i. 5, v. 20, vii. 33, viii. 29.

where the phrase occurs shows that the removal of God's alienation is included. So in 2 Corinthians v. 15-18 God's reconciliation consists in not imputing our trespasses, since He has made His Son to be sin for us.

Reconciliation and propitiation are needed because of the wrath of God against sin. This is repeatedly mentioned in Scripture as present as well as future ; existing now as well as going to display itself in the Day of Judgment. God's wrath means the fixed and necessary hostility of His nature to sin, and the manifestation of His hostility in judgment of some kind. Righteous anger has its place among themselves ; indifference to evil is not a virtue but a serious vice. We must avoid the tendency of the present day to regard God as indifferent or easy-going ; to lay such stress on His love as to ignore His righteousness. Christ's Death was necessary to prevent this righteousness from being obscured ; it enabled God's love to have free course without being misunderstood (Rom. iii. 25-26).

The main division between theories of the Atonement lies between objective views and the subjective or merely moral view. According to the former it not only alters man's thoughts of God, but made also a difference in God's relation to men, enabling Him to forgive them without obscuring His righteousness. According to the latter it merely changes men's relation to God, owing to the revelation of His love in it calling forth their repentance and love. This aspect is very important, but it is only one side of the truth. Scripture passages point beyond it to an objective Godward aspect of Christ's Death (e.g. Rom. iii. 24-26 ; 1 Cor. xv. 16-18 ; 2 Cor. v. 19). The moral view does not show why our condition necessitated the death of Christ, and therefore

fails to show how this death was a display of God's love to us.¹ There are several theories of the Atonement which bring out its Godward side. They differ by laying stress on various elements or aspects of Christ's sacrifice, e.g. His acknowledgment of our sinfulness as our Representative. But that most in accordance with the New Testament evidence is that His Death "was really our death in a vicarious and propitiatory sense; that Jesus Christ died on our behalf that death which is the fruit of sin, taking upon Himself the Divine condemnation of sin, so that there might be no condemnation to those who are found in Him."²

We must not indeed dissociate Christ's Death from His previous Life. It derives its value from His Life of perfect obedience, which was consummated in His Death. "By the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous" (Rom. v. 19). So St. Bernard said, "Not His Death, but His willing acceptance of death, was pleasing to God." Had His Life been otherwise, His Death would not have had its efficacy. Nevertheless His Death holds a unique place in Scripture apart from His life and ministry. The great mystery and difficulty of the Atonement is, Why was the *Death* so necessary and effective? If the answer is that death is the penalty of sin, how can the physical death of the Saviour be an equivalent for the eternal death of the sinner? The answer to this appears to be that physical death is the witness and the earnest of the Divine wrath and punishment which are the consequences of sin; and our Lord endured far more than physical suffering. His identification of Himself with

¹ Cf. Dale, *u.s.* liii.; Denney, *u.s.* 176-7; Lidgett, *u.s.* 267.

² Lambert, *Dict. C.G.*, i. 433, art. "Death of Christ," cf. Denney,

the sinner is shown by the spiritual agony which He underwent both in the Garden and on the Cross.¹

His Death avails for all because as the Son of Man He is our Representative. It is the death of a Representative, not of a mere individual. He acknowledged in our name God's righteousness shown in punishment; He perfectly obeyed the will of God, even to death. He bore the penalty of the sins of mankind. His Death can avail for all because He is one with all.

Objections to this doctrine of the Atonement often arise from its appearing to involve too great a separation of attributes between the Father and the Son. We must bear in mind that the Lord Jesus is Himself God; and that the love of the Father Who gave up the Son appears in the Atonement equally with the love of the Son; there is absolute unbroken unity between them both. It is unscriptural to identify the Father with righteousness and the Son with love; the Son vindicates righteousness as well as the Father; the Father shows love as well as the Son. "The Father stands for the Godhead in demanding the sacrifice; the Son stands for the Godhead in presenting it. The unity and eternal co-operation of the Persons of the Holy Trinity involve that all are with the Father in His demand, and that all are with the Son in His satisfaction; while the special relation of the Divine Persons to one another and to man involve that the demand is made by the Father and satisfied by the Son."²

We must remember that justification, i.e. acquittal, acceptance with God, is only the first stage in salvation. Christ by His Resurrection secures to us sanctification

¹ Cf. Lidgett, *u.s.* 261 f., 280; *Lux Mundi*, 214 (cheap ed.).

² Lidgett, *u.s.* p. 282.

and new life, so completing our union with God. To accept Him as our Representative or Substitute in death involves taking Him also as our Master in life ; we must in our measure copy His aversion from sin, His obedience to His Father. It is a mistake to confuse justification and sanctification, e.g. to interpret justification as " making righteous " rather than as " acquittal," but it is a worse mistake to regard forgiveness or justification as the whole of salvation, or the only really important part, instead of recognising it as merely the first stage or step of it. So Romans iii.-v. which deal with justification are followed by vi.-viii. treating of sanctification. This is equally a part of St. Paul's Gospel of Salvation.

(On the Atonement, see Dale, *Atonement* ; Denney, *Death of Christ* ; Lidgett, *Spiritual Principle of the Atonement* ; Lyttelton, " Atonement " in *Lux Mundi* ; articles in *Dict. C.G.*, by Simpson, " Atonement," and Lambert, " Death of Christ " ; Forsyth, *The Cruciality of the Cross.*)

ARTICLE V

THE "DESCENT" AND RESURRECTION

A. THE DESCENT INTO HELL

(This has sometimes been taken as a separate article, and may equally well be joined with the preceding one.)

THIS is found in the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creed, not the Nicene. It is one of the later additions to the "Apostles'," not being settled there till the seventh century. But Rufinus tells us that at the end of the fourth the words occurred in the Creed of Aquileia, though not in that of Rome. The clause is first found in some Arian (Homoean) Creeds first drawn up at Sirmium in Illyricum, 359-360, e.g. "and was buried and descended to the underworld (*εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια*) at whom Hades himself trembled." It is uncertain whether this article was already in the creeds of this district, which would account for its presence in the creed of Aquileia and the "Faith of St. Jerome," or whether it owes its place in these Arian creeds to one of their principal authors, Mark, Bishop of Arethusa in Syria, under the influence of Cyril of Jerusalem, who attached great importance to this doctrine. It is not however found in the Creed of Jerusalem nor in any form of the Nicene Creed. It appears later in the West in the Creeds of Cæsarius of Arles and other Fathers of the Gallican and Spanish churches,¹ besides the Gallican sacramentary of the

¹ E.g. Venantius Fortunatus of Poitiers and Martin of Braga.

seventh century ; also in the Athanasian Creed, of which Cæsarius may be the author.

But the doctrine is much older than its occurrence in the Creeds. It had been taught by a long series of Fathers. The earliest idea was that the Lord descended to instruct the patriarchs, prophets, and other faithful dead of Old Testament times, or to raise them to a higher degree of blessedness. Appeal was made not so much to 1 Peter iii. 18-19, iv. 6, as to an apocryphal saying which Justin says the Jews had cut out of their copies of Jeremiah, "The Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, remembered His dead which slept in the dust of the earth, and descended to them to preach unto them His salvation."¹

Our word "Hell" of course represents two different Greek words, (a) Hades, (*ᾠδης*, often genitive, *ᾠδου*) answering to the Hebrew Sheol (*שְׁאוֹל*) and meaning simply the place (or state) of the dead ; and (b) Gehenna, (*γεέννα*, Hebrew Ge-hinnom, *גֵּי הִנּוֹם*) the place of punishment for the wicked. Our word "Hell" means according to derivation "the covered, hidden place ;" it thus answers well to "Hades," and is so used in the Creed as well as occasionally in the New Testament, e.g. Revelation i. 18. Unfortunately, outside the Creed, we use it in current speech almost invariably as the equivalent of Gehenna only, and thus obscure its meaning here. Much the same is the case with the French word "enfer" and the German "Hölle." The American Prayer Book has a rubric before the Creed, "Any Churches may instead of the words 'He descended into hell' use the words, 'He went into the place of departed spirits' which are considered as words of the same meaning in the Creed."

¹ Justin, Dial. 70. The saying is quoted repeatedly by Irenæus. For patristic reff. see Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, 56-59 ; Burn, *Dict. C.G.* i. 714, art. "Hell, Descent into."

The phrase of the Creed is in Latin simply "ad inferna," to the lower parts, the underworld; the Greek is εἰς τὰ κατώτατα or τὰ καταχθονία. The best copies of the Athanasian Creed have "ad inferos"—"to *those* below." Since the body is committed to the earth, it has been natural to associate the condition of the dead with the thought of an "underworld," and so to speak of a *descent* into it (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 35, etc.). The conception of a more or less shadowy existence of spirits in a literal underworld is common to many races; but it goes along with primitive conceptions of the universe; we can only regard the language as figurative.

"Going down into Sheol" is often used in the Old Testament to express the effect of death (Gen. xxxvii. 35; xlii. 38; 1 Sam. ii. 6; Job vii. 9); this is rendered in Latin "descendere ad inferos" or "ad inferna." This exact phrase is nowhere used of our Lord; but His Death as a true human death necessarily involved the passing of His spirit into this place or condition.

The Scripture passages brought forward in support of this clause are (a) Acts ii. 31, St. Peter's quotation and application of Psalm xvi. 10, "Christ's Soul was not left in hell (Hades) nor did His flesh see corruption." (b) Ephesians iv. 9, "He descended (first) into the lower parts of the earth" (τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς). Here however while the genitive may be partitive, with the meaning "the lower parts belonging to the earth," i.e. the parts below its surface (this is favoured by Ps. lxxiii. 9, etc.), it may on the other hand be one of definition,¹ the phrase meaning "the lower parts, i.e. the earth,"

¹ As when we say "the book of Genesis," "the city of Westminster."

as distinct from heaven. Then the verse would refer either to the Incarnation, or if “first” be omitted, for which there is good authority, *possibly* to His spiritual coming from Pentecost onwards. (c) Possibly 1 Peter iii. 18–20, iv. 6, but the reference is uncertain; see below. (d) Luke xxiii. 43, “To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise” is important for the interpretation of this clause.

A number of views have been held as to the nature and objects of the Lord’s Descent,¹ but only one or two need notice. The common view among the Fathers was that He revealed Himself and His accomplished work to the Old Testament saints, and raised them to a higher degree of blessedness, either in the same place as before or else removing them to Heaven.² This is probable but uncertain; “we are sure that He crowned every act of faith in patriarch or king or prophet or saint with perfect joy; but how and when we know not.”³ Clement of Alexandria supposed this revelation to have been made to righteous heathen, as well as to Jews.

Another early view, based mainly on 1 Peter iii. 18–20 (iv. 6), was that Christ’s object was to preach the Gospel to those who had previously been disobedient; some of these, if not all, now believed, and were therefore released from sufferings.⁴ This is probably the prevalent view at the present day. It is attractive because it meets the obvious difficulty that some persons have small religious opportunities in this life. It suggests that a further opportunity is or may be given to such in the next

¹ See Pearson, pp. 230 f.

² Full details are given in the apocryphal “Gospel of Nicodemus.”

³ Westcott, *Historic Faith*, 77.

⁴ So Hilary, and Augustine in earlier writings.

world now, just as it was then. Those never brought face to face with Christ and His claims during their earthly life will yet have an opportunity for conscious acceptance or rejection of Him.

But this view rests too much upon an interpretation of an isolated and difficult passage which many have on various grounds denied to refer to Christ's "Descent."¹ The one clear thing in the passage is that Christ's preaching is connected only with the spirits of Noah's time; why should these be singled out if it really was to all spirits who have not believed during life?

The common alternative view of the passage is that, as the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets (1 Pet. i. 11), the reference is to Noah's preaching to his contemporaries who are *now* in prison. Jewish tradition made a great deal of Noah as a "preacher of righteousness" (2 Pet. ii. 5; 1 Clem. 7). The point of these verses would then be that Christ's spiritual activity is independent of His earthly life (His "flesh"), having been at work long before that life began. It is probable that we should understand this passage much better if we had before us all the Jewish legends and apocryphal literature about Noah.²

At one time the Church of England was committed to interpreting this passage as relating to the Lord's "Descent"; even now its use as the Epistle for Easter Eve shows the view of the compilers of the Prayer Book. The Third Article of the Forty-Two Articles of 1552, instead of ending abruptly like our present corresponding Article, continued, "for the body lay in the sepulchre

¹ So Augustine, writing to Euodius; Thomas Aquinas, Barrow, Pearson.

² See this passage in Salmond's *Immortality*, 365 f.

until the resurrection, but His ghost departing from Him was with the ghosts that were in prison or in hell, and did preach to the same, as the place of St. Peter doth testify.” This conclusion was omitted along with several articles on the last things, when the Articles were revised in 1563; apparently with the object of leaving this point open. Bishop Alley of Exeter had lately called attention to disputes as to the nature of Christ’s Descent. The metrical Creed attached to the “Old Version” of the Psalms (Sternhold and Hopkins) interprets the passage like the majority of Fathers. “His spirit did after this descend Into the lower parts; Of them that long in darkness were The true light of their hearts. . . .”¹

The meaning of 1 Peter iv. 6 is also obscure. Probably St. Peter means that the death of those who have received the Gospel is no sign of God’s displeasure; they live to Him. A partial parallel appears in Romans viii. 10, “The body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness,” and a still better one in Wisdom iii. 1, “The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God. For even if in the sight of men they be punished their hope is full of immortality.”

Thus it is not clear how far these passages in 1 Peter really throw light on the purpose of the Lord’s Descent. This is, no doubt, their obvious reference, and rival explanations have a somewhat forced look. But besides their isolation in the New Testament there are difficulties in the context in the way of this interpretation. But what this clause of the Creed does clearly teach is the reality and completeness of the Lord’s Death. It was,

¹ So quoted by Pearson. An edition of the Psalter, of 1639, gives the last two lines as “A dread unto the wicked sprites, but joy to faithful hearts.”

like other men's, the separation of soul and body. The body *was laid* in the grave ; the spirit went where other spirits go, to the place or state of departed spirits. This clause then declares His real and continued manhood. He bore our nature not only as living but as dead. He has hallowed and won for God every condition of human existence, even that of departed spirits. "He leads us through no darker rooms than He went through before."

The Lord promised the penitent robber that he should be that day with Him in Paradise (Luke xxiii. 43). "Paradise" or "the Garden of Eden" was a current phrase among the Jews, sometimes meaning "Heaven," sometimes the part of Sheol set apart for the righteous. It is commonly taken here in the latter sense, though in other New Testament passages where the word is found it is closely connected with "Heaven." In 2 Corinthians xii. 4, "Paradise" is at least as high as "the third Heaven" ; with Revelation ii. 7, cf. xxii. 2-4. Thus while Scripture is clear as to an Intermediate *State* between Death and Resurrection, the existence of an intermediate *place* is not so clear.¹ In any case this condition is for Christ's people not a state of gloom or suffering, or of unconsciousness, but of spiritual bliss.² Several passages imply the immediate presence of the believer with Christ at death (2 Cor. v. 8, Phil. i. 23). Ideas of some kind of Purgatory for imperfect though true Christians, of spiritual progress involving suffering, are absent from Scripture. So our Burial Service says that "the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh are in joy and felicity with God." Yet they

¹ Cf Moule, *Christian Doctrine*, p. 98. The Roman Breviary says of certain saints, e.g. Gregory VII, "migravit in coelum," thus showing an intermediate *place* to be not essential.

² Cf Swete, *Appearances*, 147.

still await their “perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul, in His eternal and everlasting glory.”

(On this clause see Burn, *Dict C.G.*, art. “Hell, Descent into”; Gibson, *Creeds*, 65 f., and *Articles*, 159 f.; Swete, *Apostles’ Creed*, 65 f.; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, and *Dict. C.G.* art. “Paradise”; C. H. H. Wright, *Intermediate State*.)

B. THE RESURRECTION

This, is a most essential article of the Creed. It is the central point of the Christian Faith; all the rest depends upon its truth. The Apostles put it in the forefront of their teaching. It is their great proof that Jesus of Nazareth was Lord and Christ. St. Paul expressly tells us that it was a prominent and essential part of His original preaching at Corinth (1 Cor. xv. 3-4); a truth taught unanimously by all Christian teachers and accepted by all their disciples (v. 11), the rejection of which overthrows all Christian faith (v. 14 f.).

Historically it is clear that the continued existence of the Christian Church depended upon the conviction of its first members that their Lord was risen from the dead. This conviction is not only attested by their records; it is shown by the observance of the Lord’s Day as their day for meeting in worship. This shows a conviction that some great event, essential to the Christian religion, had taken place upon that day of the week. This we know to have been the Lord’s Resurrection. So the Epistle of Barnabas,¹ says (ch. xv.), “we keep the eighth day for rejoicing on which Jesus rose from the dead.” The Lord’s Day, ἡ κυριακή, is mentioned by Ignatius

¹ Possibly written in the first century.

(A.D. 115) and by the "Teaching of the Apostles," as well as probably in Revelation i. 10; and the observance, though not the name, appears elsewhere in the New Testament (Acts xx. 7, and probably 1 Corinthians xvi. 2).

The Resurrection is recorded by all four Evangelists, most fully by St. Luke and St. John. Mark xvi. 9-20 is probably not an integral part of the original Second Gospel, which has somehow lost its proper ending; but an additional document from the close of the first century or thereabouts, possibly by Aristion, one of the Lord's last surviving disciples.¹ We have also an independent list of appearances narrated by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 5-8. It is not easy to piece these narratives together; some of the accounts are obviously much compressed. St. Paul's account is probably chronological, but not intended to be absolutely complete.

Apparently the recorded appearances of the risen Lord come approximately in this order: (1) To Mary Magdalene, John xx. 11-18, Mark xvi. 9. (2) To the women, Matthew xxviii. 9; possibly only another version of the appearance to Mary Magdalene. (3) To Cleophas and another going to Emmaus, Luke xxiv. 13-35, Mark xvi. 12. (4) To Peter (2) Luke xxiv. 34, 1 Corinthians xv. 5. (5) To the assembled disciples at Jerusalem, Luke xxiv. 36 f., John xx. 19 f., Mark xvi. 14 f., 1 Corinthians xv. 5. (6) To the same with Thomas, a week later, John xx. 26 f. (7) To seven disciples at the Sea of Tiberias, John xxi. (8) To the Eleven, on a mountain in Galilee, Matthew xxviii. 16, probably identical with that to "above 500 brethren at once," 1 Corinthians xv. 6. (9) To James,

¹ For this passage see Swete, *Commentary on St. Mark*. Aristion is named in an Armenian MS. as its author. He is probably the same as the Aristion known to Papias (Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 39).

probably “the Lord’s brother,” 1 Corinthians xv. 7. (10) To all the apostles, 1 Corinthians xv. 7, perhaps just before His Ascension, Acts i. 4 f. We have no reason to believe this to be a complete list.¹ St. Paul adds his own sight of the risen Lord, which qualified him to be an apostle, 1 Corinthians xv. 8.

(See Swete, *Appearances of our Lord after the Passion.*)

We notice: (a) the variety of appearances; to individuals, to two companions, to groups of varying size, to a large company at once; by day and by night; outdoors and indoors. (b) the proofs given of His identity and bodily resurrection; recognition by hands, feet and side, Luke xxiv. 39, John xx. 20, 27; partaking of food, Luke xxiv. 41, 43, cf. Acts x. 41. So “He shewed Himself alive after His Passion by many proofs” (Acts i. 3).

St. Paul’s evidence is of special importance, not merely because its date² is probably distinctly earlier than the writing of any of our Gospels; but also because having been in the confidence of the Jewish leaders, he knew all that could be said on their side against the reality of the Lord’s Resurrection. All this went for nothing when he himself saw and heard the risen Lord. Yet he took care to learn what he could about the Resurrection from the original disciples. He records at least one appearance not mentioned in our Gospels, that to St. James; also the important fact that one appearance was to above five hundred brethren, the majority of whom were still living when he wrote, some twenty-five years after. His omission of certain appearances, e.g. those to the woman

¹ 3 and 4 may possibly have been in reverse order; so 7 and 8.

² The earliest date for the Crucifixion is A.D. 29. 1 Cor. was written at latest in 57, more probably 55. St. Paul’s visit to Jerusalem after his conversion is not later than 38.

or to the travellers to Emmaus, does not prove that he did not know of them, much less that they were unknown to his informants the Christians of Jerusalem. He confines Himself to passing on the firsthand evidence of men whom he personally knew (for Peter and James cf. Gal. i. 18-19), and whose evidence would have weight with the Corinthians. His account is moreover avowedly a mere summary of his previous teaching, without details; and by no means implies that these other appearances were of no longer duration than that granted to himself. And he speaks of this appearance to himself quite differently from the way in which he records his later visions, 2 Corinthians xii. 1-4.

The Gospels differ as to the scene of the Lord's appearances. The words of the angel at the tomb, as recorded by Matthew and Mark, speak of a future appearance in Galilee. Such an appearance is, apart from that to the women, the only one recorded by Matthew; this may well have been the case also in the original ending of Mark. On the other hand Luke and the present appendix to Mark record only appearances in or near Jerusalem; John combines the two scenes; chapter xx. records appearances at Jerusalem; chapter xxi., probably an afterthought, one in Galilee. Such a combination is the obvious solution. It is sometimes held that the apostles fled at once to Galilee upon our Lord's arrest, and came to imagine appearances of Him as they revisited their old haunts; then the original story would record only such appearances there, those in Jerusalem being due to later tradition. But the angel's words "He goeth before you into Galilee" contradict the idea that the disciples had already fled there. And apart from John xxi. our fullest and clearest accounts are of appearances at or near

Jerusalem. It is certainly a difficulty that the Lord appeared at Jerusalem after bidding the disciples go to Galilee. There are however two explanations: (a) appearances at Jerusalem were needed because the women's message was not believed; (b) the message to go into Galilee to see the Lord was meant for the disciples in general, not for the apostles in particular. Matthew passes over intermediate events to narrate the risen Lord's declaration of His exaltation, and His charge to His disciples. The visit to Galilee was probably designed (a) to give opportunity for an appearance to a larger number of disciples than was possible at Jerusalem, and (b) to give the apostles opportunity for rest and reflection before their ministry began.

The date "the third day" is an important part of this article (Acts x. 40; 1 Cor. xv. 4). The mention of this time formed part of our Lord's repeated prophecy, Matthew xvi. 21, etc. In Mark we read "after three days"; but the identity of the two expressions is shown in Matthew xxvii. 63-64, "after three days . . . until the third day"; so Genesis xlii. 17-18. "After three days" = "three days after." The ancient mode of reckoning was inclusive of both starting point and termination; the modern mode, only of the termination. Thus in the Roman Kalendar, the Kalends being the 1st of each month, November 30th would be "the day before the Kalends of December," but November 29 would be called "the third day before the Kalends," not as we should say, "the second day before." So "the third day" means regularly either the day before yesterday, or the day after to-morrow; cf. Luke xiii. 32.¹ Since Jewish days begin

¹ Many other examples, Classical and Scriptural, in Field, *Notes on the Translation of the New Testament*, on Matthew xvi. 21.

at sunset, and our Lord died on the Friday afternoon, any period after sunset on Saturday would belong to the "third day." The words in the Creed (*a*) remind us of the Lord's own prophecy; (*b*) show the Resurrection to mean a definite event at a definite time, and not to be merely a phrase for continued spiritual existence; and (*c*) show that belief in the Resurrection had a definite and very early starting point, and did not gradually grow up among the disciples after retirement to Galilee.

The Nicene Creed adds that the Resurrection was "according to the Scriptures." The phrase comes from 1 Corinthians xv. 4; cf. also John xx. 9, "they knew not the scriptures, that He must rise from the dead," also Luke xxiv. 46, Acts xvii. 3. The one passage definitely quoted as foretelling Christ's Resurrection is Psalm xvi. 9-10, quoted by St. Peter, Acts ii. 25-28, and St. Paul, Acts xiii. 35; cf. also the type of Jonah, Matthew xii. 40. Hosea vi. 2 is nowhere quoted. But all the Old Testament types and prophecies of the Lord's exaltation and kingdom imply His Resurrection.

All the Gospel narratives agree that the tomb was found empty on the third day. This was admitted even by opponents; the Jews could not dispute the fact, though they tried to account for it (Matt. xxviii. 13-15). But it is hardly correct to say that the faith of the Church is founded on the empty grave, which of itself proves nothing; it rested on the manifestations of the risen Lord. The message of the empty grave brought in most cases simply perplexity,¹ which was removed only by the sight of the risen Lord. The empty grave is an important contributory piece of evidence, but not the main thing.

The universal belief of the early Church in the Lord's

¹ St. John appears an exception, John xx. 8.

Resurrection has to be accounted for in some way. The simplest explanation is that what they believed actually took place. Those who reject this are bound to offer some other explanation. Of these there are several.

(a) “The body was secretly removed, either by friends or enemies.” But the empty tomb is not of itself sufficient to account for faith in the Resurrection.

The Jews spread the report that the body had been secretly removed by the disciples (Matt. xxviii. 13-15 ; so Justin, Dial. 108). But this is refuted by the manifest honesty and sincerity of the disciples. The whole history of their lives shows that they fully believed in Christ’s Resurrection and did not invent it. No sober critic would now take this line.

There is a modern theory that the body was removed by Joseph of Arimathaea. But there was no motive for this, unless he had completely changed his mind ; and there was no time for such a change. One who had gone out of his way to ask for the body and bury it reverently would not have sought to undo his work next day.

If the Jews had removed it, to stop the tomb becoming a place of pilgrimage, they must have been able to produce it, or at least to bring forward evidence that they had made away with it. Their failure to do so is fatal to this view.

(b) “Christ was taken down alive from the cross, and revived in the tomb.” This has been shown above to be contrary not only to the narratives, but also to all probability. It is most irrational to suppose that such a half-dead Christ could ever have inspired the disciples with a triumphant faith in Himself as risen Conqueror and as Son of God.

(c) The most common theory is that of Visions. It is held that the disciples had a growing conviction that their

Master could not be dead. Then the more excitable of them, such as Mary Magdalene, began to imagine, by hallucination or illusion, that they saw Him ; and these visions were accepted as evidence by the rest. Against this theory we have (1) the absence of all expectancy on the part of the disciples ; they were full of despondency, and refused to believe the first accounts of the Resurrection. (2) The absence of time for reflection to produce this expectancy ; weeks or months would be required, whereas some of the most important appearances are ascribed to " the third day." (3) Some of the appearances were to a large number, all of whom could not well have been subject to hallucinations ; especially as these hallucinations must have been of both sight and hearing coincidently. And the apostles appear to us elsewhere as plain, matter-of-fact, practical men, and so well suited to be witnesses of facts ;¹ not as imaginative or hysterical. (4) The appearances come to an end suddenly, instead of continuing indefinitely.

Two other theories allow some objective reality to these appearances.

(d) The Lord's appearances are connected with accounts of apparitions, such as those collected by the Society for Psychical Research, which it regards as not mere hallucinations but as actual appearance of a deceased person, thus proving the survival of his personality. But even if the objective reality of such apparitions be granted, (a) some of our Lord's appearances were far more substantial and prolonged than any of these ; and (b) such apparitions usually lead to little or nothing ; their communications indeed seem often mere folly. But our Lord's appear-

¹ See Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, 242 f. : *The Risen Master*, 59.

ances were most effective, resulting in the establishment of the Christian Church.

(e) Another theory is that of "objective visions," not produced by ordinary means, but specially sent by God and the glorified Christ Himself, in order to convince the disciples that He had really triumphed. This view brings us back into the region of the miraculous; if this be once admitted, it is better to suppose that the disciples' faith was founded on literal fact than on heaven-sent illusion.

It is no doubt true that the "Easter Faith" is more essential than the "Easter Message"; i.e. that faith in the living and exalted Lord is more essential than simple acceptance of the facts which the early Christians held to justify this belief. But just as they gained their faith in the living Lord solely from the conviction of the truth of the empty tomb and the Lord's appearances, so the rejection of these as historical facts is most likely to lead sooner or later in most cases to loss of grasp upon the spiritual reality.

The Lord's resurrection-body was identical with His previous body, but had nevertheless undergone a great change. He was recognized by the marks of the nails and spear (Luke xxiv. 39, John xx. 27); yet He was known only when He willed. "He manifested Himself" (Luke xxiv. 31, John xxi. 1-4). He appeared with a material body which could be handled and could receive food (Luke xxiv. 39-43), probably accommodating itself to the needs of the disciples.¹ Yet it existed under new conditions, and was free from ordinary bodily limitations. He appeared and disappeared suddenly; He entered the room though the doors were shut (Luke xxiv. 31, 36,

¹ Cf. Latham, *Risen Master*, 22.

John xx. 19). We see here complete personal identity along with a great change in mode of existence. His body was now what St. Paul calls "a spiritual body," (1 Cor. xv. 44), a body perfectly fitted for the needs of the spirit, and accommodating itself to them. This same change is promised to His people, 1 Corinthians xv. 50-53, Philippians iii. 21. Thus His resurrection stands on a completely different footing from that of, e.g., Lazarus, who was merely restored to ordinary earthly life, eventually to die again. There was nothing analogous in the experience of the Apostles to Christ's Resurrection-life; nothing predisposed them to form such a conception of it. Yet we can realize its appropriateness.

The doctrinal significance of the Resurrection is manifold.

(a) It proved the truth of our Lord's claims, especially His claim to be the Christ, the Son of God. He had foretold not merely that He would be put to death, which might have been naturally foreseen, but that He would rise from the dead. The fulfilment of this astonishing prediction showed His supernatural knowledge and absolute truth; it proved that God's favour rested on Him, and that God had publicly acknowledged Him as justified in all His claims. So He "was determined to be the Son of God, by the Resurrection" (Rom. i. 4).

(b) It gives His Death its value, in two ways. (1) The value of His Death depends on its being not the death of a mere man, but of the Son of God. The Atonement comes from God. (2) The Resurrection showed that His Sacrifice was sufficient and accepted; it was God's acknowledgment of this. Cf. Romans iv. 25, "He was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification." He died, that is, to atone for the sins

which we had committed ; He rose to show that this atonement was accomplished. The final words¹ may indeed either mean "because we were justified or acquitted" ; or "that we might be justified" ; but this does not affect the main point, that the Resurrection shows the efficacy of the Sacrifice.

(c) The Resurrection brought about His exaltation, and established Him as living Saviour and Lord, giving spiritual life and strength to His people ; cf. Ephesians i. 20-23. The Resurrection is the essential point in His exaltation ; the Ascension only completes it. He saves His people by His present life as well as by His death (Rom. v. 10). The strength of the apostles lay in their sense of His abiding presence and continual help. This is one great reason for the importance they attach to the Resurrection. The meaning of the Death is "Christ for us" ; one great meaning and result of the Resurrection is "Christ in us." By reason of this union with Him we are to count ourselves dead to sin, and alive to God, to serve Him with all our powers (Rom. vi. 11, etc.).

(d) His Resurrection is the pledge of ours. This is declared most fully in 1 Corinthians xv. St. Paul here maintains that the Lord's Resurrection, which all Christians admitted, cannot be isolated from our future resurrection, which some denied. His Resurrection is one instance of man's resurrection ; to admit it is to admit the possibility of the "resurrection of the dead." And since He is Head of mankind, His Resurrection is a pledge of ours. He is risen as "the firstfruits of them that are asleep" (1 Cor. xv. 20) ; "the Firstborn from the dead,"

¹ διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν. The first interpretation is that of Godet, Milligan, Moule, and Weymouth ; the second that of most other commentators.

(Col. i. 18; Rev. i. 5). He overcame death not only for Himself but for His people. At His coming our bodies will be fashioned like His glorious body (Phil. iii. 21), the new life which has already filled our spirits shall then quicken our bodies also (Rom. viii. 10-11).

(On the doctrinal significance of the Resurrection, see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, p. 116, also Orr, Milligan, Westcott, Sparrow-Simpson, as below.)

(On the Resurrection generally, see Orr, *The Resurrection of Jesus*; Sparrow-Simpson, *Our Lord's Resurrection*, and article in *Dict. C.G.*, "Resurrection of Christ"; Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*; Swete, *Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*; Latham, *The Risen Master*; Hermitage Day, *The Evidence for the Resurrection*; Westcott, *The Revelation of the Risen Lord*, and *The Gospel of the Resurrection*; Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles*; Robinson, *Studies in the Resurrection of Christ*.)

ARTICLE VI

THE ASCENSION AND SESSION:

“He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.”

“And ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father.”

THE Ascension is only briefly mentioned in the Gospels.

It is altogether omitted by St. Matthew and St. John, though the latter records words of the Lord about ascending. It is recorded in the appendix to St. Mark, and probably at the close of St. Luke, where however the text is uncertain, as “Western” authorities omit “and was carried up into heaven.” But even so the Ascension seems implied.

It has been maintained that the Ascension was not originally mentioned in any of the Synoptic Gospels, just as it is passed over in St. Paul’s account of Resurrection appearances, 1 Corinthians xv. It is then further argued from this that it had no place in the primitive tradition, apart from the Resurrection and the Session. But the evidence for its acceptance as distinct from either of these is much fuller than appears at first. The appendix to St. Mark is certainly very early. The account in Acts is very full. St. John records the Lord’s words, “What if ye should behold the Son of Man ascending where He was before?” (vi. 62); and “I am not yet ascended unto the Father” (xx. 17). St. Paul speaks of the Lord ascending

on high (Eph. iv. 8-10), and, probably quoting a Christian hymn, says that He was received up in glory (1 Tim. iii. 16). St. Peter says, "He is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven" (1 Pet. iii. 22). The Epistle to the Hebrews, dealing largely with His work in heaven, implies His Ascension, which is expressed iv. 19. Furthermore, all passages about His "Coming," or "Return" involve a previous Ascension, as indeed do all mentions of His "Session," unless the bodily Resurrection is denied, and the term "Resurrection" applied simply to spiritual exaltation. The reason why the Ascension is comparatively seldom mentioned is that it is overshadowed by the Resurrection and the Session; it is the complement of the one and leads up to the other.

There may appear a discrepancy as to the date of the Ascension. Luke xxiv. seems to make it immediately follow the Resurrection, on the same day, while Acts i. speaks of a period of forty days between. But Luke xxiv. reads like a summary of post-resurrection teaching. And while the appearance of xxiv. 36 f. was clearly in the evening, a night journey to Bethany and Ascension by night are most improbable. So Luke xxiv. probably compresses into one narrative the events and sayings of a period. And as the Gospel and the "Acts" both proceed from the same author, the only alternatives are (1) that he was conscious of no inconsistency; or (2) that the later writing, "Acts," gives a deliberate correction, based on fuller information. From the fourth century onwards the Ascension has been celebrated forty days after Easter. "Barnabas," however, seems to imply that the Resurrection and the Ascension took place on the same day of the week. "We keep the eighth day for joy on which Jesus both rose from the dead and after His manifestation as-

cended into heaven" (ch. xv.). This may be merely a compressed statement as in Luke xxiv. regarding the Ascension as the complement of the Resurrection. Or, if "Barnabas" really means that the Ascension took place on the Lord's day, and is preserving a true tradition, the "forty days" of Acts i. 3 might be a round number, the Ascension taking place on the sixth Sunday after Easter. But "Barnabas" is perhaps not earlier than A.D. 130, though some put him in the first century; and probably it is only the Resurrection which he really ascribes to the "eighth day."

On the other hand, some Gnostics made the period between the Resurrection and Ascension eighteen months, so as to allow time for their alleged special instruction (*γυνῶσις*) to be given; some imagined a number of years; even Eusebius once suggests that the ministry after the Resurrection may have lasted as long as that before it, i.e. $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. But such reckonings probably ignore the statement of Acts, besides being improbable in themselves. The words could indeed be rendered "at intervals of forty days,"¹ but this is very forced, and the usual translation must be right.

(See Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 68.)

There are several reasons why the Ascension did not immediately follow the Resurrection.

(a) To convince the disciples by His manifold and repeated appearances that He was really risen. Had He withdrawn at once after the first appearances, there would have been fewer witnesses and more room for doubt.

(b) To teach them "the things concerning the Kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3). A fairly widespread view is that this means that He now gave them various regulations for the

¹ Or indeed "at the end of forty days."

future guidance of the Church, establishing, e.g., Confirmation and Episcopacy. But this is connected with the identification of the "Kingdom of God" with the Church, which is only partially correct.¹ The Kingdom of God was the great subject of His teaching during His public ministry (cf. e.g. Luke iv. 43, viii. 1, ix. 11); all His teaching gathered round this. But as far as recorded, this hardly touched upon matters of church government or regulations for worship; and we should not naturally suppose it was otherwise after the Resurrection. Details were probably left by Him to be worked out as occasion might require, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and such guidance is enough for us, without imagining unrecorded words of Christ.

We are, however, told of two points of His teaching during the forty days: (a) The witness of the Old Testament Scriptures to Himself, Luke xxiv. 44: "He opened their mind that they might understand the Scriptures"—pointing to their predictions of His Passion and Resurrection. We are not, however, informed of the special application of any particular passage.² (b). Their commission to preach the Gospel everywhere as witnesses of Him. This is told us at the close of each Synoptic Gospel, also Acts i. 8; and is probably the primary meaning of the commission of John xx. 21-23: "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you . . . Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them . . ." This is "a summary of the message with which [the Church] is charged."³

¹ See later, p. 134.

² See Latham, *Risen Master*, 118 f.

³ *Report of Fulham Conference on Confession and Absolution*, p. 199.

(c) A third reason was to accustom them to live without His visible presence, yet to feel Him always near. He was during this period no longer constantly among them, as before ; yet they felt that He might appear at any moment to help in need. So they gradually realized that though unseen, He was with them always.

This period was a transitional one—"I am not yet ascended to the Father" (John xx. 17). Apparently the Ascension made no essential change in the Lord's condition ; He simply entered manifestly by it on the position really His from the Resurrection onward. This manifestation was delayed for a while for the above reasons ; therefore something was needed to assure the disciples of His entrance upon this position, and so of the end of these occasional earthly manifestations. It is hard to see how this could well have been accomplished except by His visible Ascension.

A common objection to the Lord's bodily Ascension springs from a too material conception of it. This bodily Ascension is declared to be contrary to the laws of nature, and to go along with an unscientific view of the universe. But we must remember that (a) it was with a spiritual body¹ free from material encumbrance, that the Lord ascended ; and (b) whether heaven, the abode of God, angels, and glorified saints, be most exactly conceived as a place or as merely a state, we can definitely picture it only as a place ; and being beyond the order of things, it is naturally conceived as outside this world and above the sky.² Whatever the exact truth may be on this matter, Christ's Ascension is consistent with it—either

¹ See above, on last article.

² See Swete, *Appearances*, p. 105.

as a local movement to a place or as a sign of spiritual entrance upon a new mode of being.

The Ascension was the Lord's "return home," after completing the work He had come on earth to do (cf. John xvi. 28). It is not an instance of apotheosis or deification of one who was admittedly a mere man, but the return of God thither from whence He had come. This is brought out clearly (Phil. ii. 5 f.) This at once distinguishes the Ascension from many heathen legends. Yet there is a difference from His pre-incarnate state; His humanity continues. He has raised our human nature to God's right hand, "has entered upon the completeness of spiritual being without lessening in any way the completeness of His humanity."¹

The question whether Christ's glorified Body is confined to one place at a time was a great subject of dispute between Lutherans, who upheld its ubiquity (that it is or may be present everywhere), and "Reformed," who denied this, as does our "Declaration on Kneeling" at the end of the Communion Service. On this question see Gibson, *Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 193, and Hooker, v. 55, quoted by him. Hooker lays down that Christ as Man is not everywhere present, but there is a sort of presence by conjunction and co-operation with the Word Who is everywhere. Thus as God is everywhere, with us all, so is Christ Who is at the right hand of God, human as well as divine. The Ascension thus brings Him nearer to us all, instead of, as it might seem, removing Him farther away. His last words on earth recorded by St. Matthew are, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 20).

(On the Ascension see Swete, *Appearances*; Sparrow

¹ Westcott, *Historic Faith*, 81.

Simpson, *Our Lord's Resurrection*; Denney, art. "Ascension" in Hastings' *D.B.*, and Martin, art. "Ascension" in *Dict. C.G.*; Milligan, *Ascension*; Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles.*)

The Session "at the right hand of God" is repeatedly joined with the Ascension (Mark xvi. 19, 1 Pet. iii. 22) or with the Resurrection (Rom. viii. 34), as their present and permanent result. Psalm cx. 1 is often quoted in the New Testament as a prediction of Christ's exaltation. The meaning of the Session is clear, though the language is anthropomorphic. "At the right hand of God" signifies the highest position of honour and power, beside God the Father, sharing in His rule. "Sitteth" denotes (a) Finished work. Christ has accomplished what He came to do, and now rests after toil and victory. Several times in the New Testament the Session is spoken of as the sequel or reward of His work on earth; Hebrews i. 3, xii. 2, Revelation iii. 21. ("I overcame and sat down with my Father in His throne.") So Philippians ii. 9-11 speaks of the exaltation following His self-sacrifice, though the word "sit" is not used. But it also denotes (b) Divine Sovereignty—so removing possible misconceptions of His Priesthood and Intercession. He is King as well as Priest. He does not stand offering before the Throne of God, but sits beside Him. Once, however, Acts vii. 55-56, He is described as *standing*;—to help and welcome His faithful witness, Stephen.

His present work, though of great importance, is often lost sight of. While His work on earth is finished and complete, He is still at work for His people, in Heaven.

(a) He is Mediator, Intercessor, High Priest. We read repeatedly of Him as our Mediator, Intercessor, Advocate, and that through Him we enjoy access to God

(Rom. viii. 34, Eph. ii. 18, 1 Tim. ii. 5, 1 John ii. 2). But the Epistle to the Hebrews is full of this subject ; it describes Him as our High Priest. The Apostle compares Him with the Jewish priesthood, and brings out in turn the superiority of His Person, a King and an eternal Priest ; of His sphere of ministry, the heavenly sanctuary, the true presence of God ; and of His one offering, Himself. The consummation of the greatest of sin-offerings, those of the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi.), consisted not in the death of the victims, but in the presentation of their blood in the Holy of Holies ; so the consummation of Christ's sacrifice is formed by His Ascension and His continued presence in Heaven. This offering or presentation has been once made ; Hebrews viii. 3, which speaks of the necessity of His having, as Priest, somewhat to offer in the heavenly sanctuary, is not sufficient to substantiate the idea of a continuous self-offering.¹ But its results abide for ever. The covenant relation established by it between God and His people is maintained by His Presence and Intercession.

His present work as High Priest may be described generally as Mediation, securing our union with God and assuring us of it. His Death has established the new covenant between God and men, a covenant of free forgiveness and spiritual life ; His life in Heaven secures His people the blessings of this. He pleads our cause with the Father, presents our prayers, and bestows help and blessing upon us. As true Man, He can sympathize with our weakness, and bestow on us the grace we need (Heb. iv. 15-16). *How* His work of intercession is carried on, we cannot precisely say ; it may be merely by His perpetual presence with the Father as the atoning Sacrifice, or by some more

¹ Cf. Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 153 ; otherwise Milligan, *Ascension*.

direct representation to Him, of course not made in words.

(b) As the antitype of Melchisedek, He is King as well as Priest. The meaning of this is shown, Ephesians i. 20-23, Philippians ii. 5-11. He is exalted far above all created beings, angels and spirits as well as men; all is subjected to Him; all authority is given to Him in Heaven and in earth (Matt. xxviii. 18). He controls the course of the world; He rules over His people. Revelation i.-iii. give examples of this rule. He watches over all the Churches, not merely approving or blaming, but rewarding and punishing. The vision of chapter i. sets before us the power and the glory of the ascended Lord.

He is gone into Heaven as our Forerunner (Heb. vi. 20) to prepare a place for us (John xiv. 2). Just as His Resurrection is a pledge of ours, so is His presence in Heaven. But to be fit for this, we must now seek the things above, set our minds and thoughts on them, not on earthly things (Col. iii. 1-2). This does not mean that we are to be continually thinking of Heaven and its glories, longing to have done with earth, in the manner of some hymns; but that we are to have in our mind spiritual things, God and His will; to cultivate holy thoughts and Christian graces; to rise above earthly interests and pursuits, not to be absorbed in them, however innocent or necessary they may be; and to put down resolutely all evil habits.¹ "We are to anticipate heaven not only in hope, but in tone and temper; seeing things as God sees them, and seeing all in relation to Him."²

(On the Session, see commentaries on Hebrews, especially those of Westcott and Davidson; Milligan, *Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood*; Denney, art. "Priest" in Hastings' *D.B.*; Swete, *The Ascended Christ*.)

¹ Cf. v. 5 f.

² Barry, on Colossians iii.

ARTICLE VII

THE RETURN AS JUDGE

“From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.”

“And He shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead ; Whose Kingdom shall have no end.”

“From whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their own works.”

THE Lord's Return holds a very prominent place in the New Testament. It formed part of the Lord's own teaching (Matt. xvi. 27, xxvi. 64). It was foretold by angels immediately after His Ascension (Acts i. 11). It is taught by all apostles alike—SS. James, Peter and John, as well as St. Paul. It has a prominent place in the earliest of St. Paul's writings, the first Epistle to the Thesalonians. They had come “to serve a living and true God and to wait for His Son from Heaven (i. 9-10 ; cf. ii. 19, iii. 13, iv. 14, etc.). It runs through his other letters, down to the very last chapter, 2 Timothy iv. 1, “Jesus Christ, Who shall judge the quick and the dead ; and His appearing and His kingdom.” The coming of the Lord is a great thought of the Apocalypse, which closes with the promise, “Yea, I come quickly,” and the response to it, “Amen, come, Lord Jesus.”

Several expressions are used of this Return. It is described as a Coming (*παρουσία*, the regular Greek term

for a *royal* visit, Latin “*Adventus*,” hence our “*Advent*”); as the Revelation of the Lord, when His glory will be fully displayed (*ἀποκάλυψις*); as the Day of the Lord (or of Christ), an Old Testament phrase; or, in the Pastoral Epistles, as Christ’s Appearing or Manifestation (*ἐπιφάνεια*).

The Apostles and other Christians of their time believed this Return to be near at hand, to take place probably in their own lifetime. The books of the New Testament were not consciously written for guidance of future generations; only for the present, or immediate future. In 1 Thessalonians iv. 15–17 St. Paul classes himself with those living at the Return (“*we* that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord”). It would appear from 2 Thessalonians ii. 1–2 that some expected it immediately. Later, St. Paul thought it more probable that he would die first (2 Cor. v. 1, etc.), but seems still to have regarded the Return as near. This belief must be borne in mind in considering various passages of the New Testament, especially such verses as speak of Christian progress or consistency lasting until the Day of Christ (e.g. 1 Cor. i. 8, Phil. i. 6); the possible period between their death and that Day was probably not in the Apostle’s mind at all. This period naturally holds an important place in our minds, but had a very small one in those of the first Christians; hence it is that so little is said on the subject in the New Testament.

We can see why the first generation was mistaken in this expectation of an immediate Return.

(a) The Apostles were expressly told that the times and seasons, especially that of the Restoration, would not be revealed to them (Acts i. 7). But since so much had already happened in their lifetime, they and their con-

temporaries naturally expected that the whole Christian dispensation would be completed in it.

(b) A large element of our Lord's teaching was on this subject; and while His teaching seems sometimes to imply a long period of growth for His Church, elsewhere the Return seems near at hand. Especially in His great prophecy, Matthew xxiv.-xxv., and parallels, the Return is closely connected with the Fall of Jerusalem. It is perhaps possible to draw a division between verses which speak primarily of each; e.g. Matthew xxiv. 4-28 seems to speak primarily of the Fall of Jerusalem, xxiv. 29-31 of the Advent of Christ; but this is not altogether clear, and verse 34, "This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be accomplished." is difficult to fit in.¹ (No explanation is free from serious difficulty; the chief are: (a) "The generation" means the Jewish race; (b) it means the generation living when the signs begin to appear (= *that* generation); (c) best—it refers to the Fall of Jerusalem regarded as a foretaste or type of the Advent.) It is possible that some of the difficulty arises from the combination, which occurs elsewhere in St. Matthew, of sayings originally spoken at different times and with different reference. A modern view that a great part of this discourse comes from some small Jewish or Jewish-Christian apocalypse, not from the Lord Himself, has no external evidence in its support, and the internal evidence is quite inadequate. But there is no wonder that with such prophecies of the Lord before them the first Christians expected the Advent in their own time, especially when the struggle between the Jews and the Romans became imminent.

But this apparently close connexion of two things

¹ Cf. also Mark ix. 1.

actually separated by a long period is characteristic of Old Testament prophecy. E.g. Isaiah (vii.-ix.) and Micah (v. 4-6) closely connect Messiah's coming with the deliverance from Assyria; and in the great prophecy of Isaiah xl. f. the Restoration from Babylon and the Messianic Kingdom are interwoven. So "in His eschatological¹ discourses Christ recognizes as Old Testament prophecy did, the partial and preliminary manifestation of the Kingdom as involving the final." His predictions "combine the end of the theocracy and the end of the world."²

(c) And there was a divine purpose in the misapprehension of the first Christians. This expectation was of great value to them, giving hope, courage, and strength. This could not have been unless they had believed the Return to be very near.

Now that so much has taken place since the Ascension, we are naturally inclined to think that things may go on a good deal longer yet; and the repeated failure of the most confident expectations and calculations in the past takes away all confidence in calculations of the present day. We commonly think of our own death, and not of the Lord's Return, as the termination of our life and probation here. This is as natural for us as the opposite was for the early Christians. But we must never ignore the possibility of the Return being near at hand; and should look forward to it with hope, as they did, since it means the full establishment of God's Kingdom.

The Return is specially connected with the final judgment and the End. The idea of a temporary kingdom

¹ "Eschatology" = the Doctrine of the Last Things.

² Salmond, *Immortality*, 245; cf. Hastings' *D.B.* "Eschatology of New Testament," p. 750.

of the Messiah upon earth is found in many Jewish writings, e.g. 2 Esdras vii. 28 f. ; but nowhere in the New Testament, except possibly Revelation xx. The doctrine of the Millennium however prevailed in the Christian Church down to the third century (being held by Papias, Justin, Irenaeus, etc.), but then became discredited.¹ There are obvious difficulties in the way of forming a consistent conception of it, and it is probable that the Old Testament passages usually quoted for it, e.g. Isaiah lxxv., Zechariah xiv., so far as they still await fulfilment, refer to the life of the world to come, though under the imagery of the prophets' own surroundings.

The doctrine of future judgment is not peculiar to Christianity. It forms part of Natural Religion, meeting as it does the requirements of man's moral instincts. It enters also into non-Christian religions, as that of the ancient Egyptians. It is reached from the inward witness of Conscience, which points to a judgment beyond itself, where He who has framed the moral law which Conscience recognizes will finally vindicate that law (cf. Rom. ii. 14-16). It is reached also by developing the conception of God as the righteous Governor of the world. This conception is an important part of Natural Religion. But this righteous government requires a future judgment to set right the injustices here, to vindicate the good and to punish the evil. We see this now being done enough to satisfy us that God is such a righteous Governor. But "nothing [is] more certain than that in this life rewards are not correspondent to the virtues, punishments not proportionable to the sins of men." * This

¹ See Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, Lecture IV.

² See Butler, *Analogy*, Pt. 1, ch. 2 and 3.

* Pearson, *Creed*, p. 295.

fact caused great difficulty to Old Testament thinkers to whom the doctrine of future judgment was not clearly revealed—cf. Psalm lxxiii. ("Truly God is good to Israel"), Job, and Ecclesiastes. To be able to maintain consistently, that God is a righteous and moral Governor, we are compelled to look forward to a judgment beyond this life, which will set right the irregularities here.

The thought of judgment or retribution runs indeed through the Old Testament, but it is not usually regarded as affecting those already dead. Its sphere is commonly the present life, in which God will ultimately reward the righteous and punish the wicked, it may be after a long period of successful injustice. When one great and final display of God's judgment, "the Day of the Lord," is in view, the blow is regarded as falling upon His enemies then living on earth. This "Day of the Lord" is repeatedly mentioned by the prophets (including Isaiah, Joel, Amos, Zephaniah, Malachi). The popular idea was that the Lord would then vindicate and deliver His people Israel; it would be simply a day of triumph for them, and of destruction for their heathen enemies. But the prophets taught that it would be one of sifting and judgment for Israel also, and would bring salvation only to God's faithful ones. So the "Day" has two aspects—judgment and salvation; each is prominent in turn. It is the day when the Lord will manifest Himself and establish His Kingdom which will endure for ever. But its scene is the earth; those punished are the living enemies of God's Kingdom, secret or avowed. The doctrine of judgment after death has only a very small place in the Old Testament, and this only in its later books; the most striking passages are Job xix. 25, Ecclesiastes xii. 14, Daniel xii. 2-3.

The doctrine comes out much more clearly in the Apocryphal books, especially in Enoch (even in its earliest part, cc. 1-36) and in 2 Maccabees.

(See Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 214-252; Davidson in Hastings' *D.B.*, article "Eschatology of Old Testament"; Oesterley, *Doctrine of the Last Things*; Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things*.)

Our Lord confirmed this truth (John v. 27-28, etc.), and claimed to be Himself the future Judge of all. It was apparently no part of the current Jewish conception, that the Messiah was to be Judge in this sense; where judgment is ascribed to Him, it means either overthrowing hostile powers, or simply reigning as King. It is God who conducts the final judgment. Only in what is probably the latest part of the Book of Enoch, the Similitudes,¹ do we find the Messiah described as Judge. So the Lord's claim to be Judge was not necessarily involved in His claim to be Messiah; it was at least a very unusual extension of this claim; yet it was repeatedly made (cf. Matt. vii. 22-23, xvi. 27, xxv. 31 f.), and accepted by His disciples. The distinctive Christian feature of the doctrine of future judgment is that it will be carried out by the Lord at His Return (Acts x. 42, xvii. 31, Rom. ii. 16,² 2 Cor. v. 10, 2 Tim. iv. 1). One reason for this is given by Himself, John v. 27, "The Father hath given authority to the Son to do judgment, because He is Son of Man." It is His office to represent God to man; and being Himself Man, He can judge with full knowledge of our nature and sympathy with our weakness.

We look for this Return and Judgment as a future

¹ Dr. Charles puts this section in the first century B.C.; Dr. Stanton and others in the first century A.D., suspecting Christian influence. Here only is the title "Son of Man" used of the Messiah.

event. Every great crisis in the history of the world or of the Church, such as the Fall of Jerusalem or the Reformation, may indeed well be regarded as a coming of Christ, His interposition in history and human society, judging the wrong of the past and bringing new life and thoughts into the world. But such comings do not satisfy the promise; they allow much imperfection and injustice; they do not supersede a final Return. Nor is the promise satisfied by the spread of Christianity in the world or of Christian principles in human life, however far this may go. Similarly, God's judgment is now often seen at work, but this does not supersede the final judgment. It is of course not necessary to take all details in descriptions of the Return or the Judgment, e.g. in Matthew xxv. and in Revelation xx., as literal; some may be merely pictorial. But we must avoid the other extreme, of explaining away the event by reducing it to a present or gradual process; either God's judgment shown in history, or the realization of His verdict by the enlightened conscience. The last is spoken of as "judgment" in St. John's Gospel, e.g. iii. 18-19; but this does not supersede the final judgment at the Last Day. We have no more warrant to spiritualize away the Second Advent than we have to deal so with the First.

This Judgment will be universal. It may be doubtful whether the final scene in Matthew xxv. includes all men alike, or only the heathen; but even in the latter case the previous parables disclose judgment on professing Christians, consistent or inconsistent. Such sayings as John v. 24, "He that heareth my word and believeth . . . cometh not into judgment," do not really exclude this; the Authorized Version rendering "condemnation" is a fairly adequate interpretation if an inexact translation;¹

¹ See Grimm-Thayer, s.v. κρίσις.

and the reference of the verse to the *final* judgment is not clear. Such passages as Romans xiv. 10 ("we must all stand before the judgment seat of God"), 1 Corinthians iv. 5, 2 Corinthians v. 10, are decisive as to the judgment including Christians. Some hold that their judgment, as well as their resurrection, will precede that of the rest, but there is no clear evidence of this.

One great aspect of the Judgment is the revelation of character. This comes out clearly in Romans ii. 16; 1 Corinthians iv. 5, "The Lord will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the counsels of the heart"; 2 Corinthians v. 10, "we must all be made manifest" (*φανερωθῆναι*). All hypocrisy and self-deception will be swept away (cf. Luke xii. 1-3); men will be revealed to themselves and to all others as they are in the sight of God; all hidden sin and all hidden goodness will be brought to light; and the motives which lay behind words and actions will be as clear as the words and actions themselves. Judgment will be according to each man's works (Rom. ii. 6, Rev. xxii. 12, etc.), or rather according to the character shown by his works. On the other hand salvation is repeatedly connected with faith in Christ. We get this double point of view in Revelation xx. 12-15; the dead are judged according to their works, as displayed from the books, but their destiny depends on whether they are "written in the book of life." The solution on one side lies in the fact that "the faith which justifies can never be alone"; it must carry with it the direction of the heart and life towards God, otherwise it is dead and useless. And on the other hand the Judgment will take into account a man's opportunities or his want of them. He will not be condemned for not knowing what he could not have known. All

disadvantages will be taken into account, as well as all advantages. The Judge cannot act unjustly, and justice with Him cannot be less equitable than with us. This however gives no reason for us to neglect opportunities to gain more light for ourselves, nor for those who have the light to neglect to spread it. All advantages may be despised or misused ; this does not render their possession less desirable. Further, Scripture points to the existence of various degrees of reward and punishment, according to degrees of faithfulness or of sin. But the question of future destinies is best reserved for the last article of the Creed.

We are too much inclined to shrink from the thought of the Return and the Judgment. It is a good thing that the Church brings it before us every Advent. This shrinking is largely due to our own worldliness, conscious or unconscious. We need, and yet shrink from, the call to a more spiritual life, so as to be ready to welcome the Lord's Return. But this shrinking comes also from thinking too much of the terrible side, not, as the first Christians did, of the joyful side. The Lord's Return means the "restitution of all things"; the appearance of "a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness"; the suppression of all evil, but the preservation and full development of all good; the completion of Christ's work of putting away sin and bringing in everlasting righteousness.

In the Nicene Creed this article ends with the words "Whose kingdom shall have no end." This echoes Luke i. 33. It was not in the Creed of the Council of Nicaea, but is found in the Creed of Jerusalem and in others a few years later, and hence came into our "Nicene" or rather Constantinopolitan Creed. It was introduced to meet

Sabellianizing views, specially that of Marcellus of Ancyra, who held that while the impersonal Word was eternal, the Son was not so, and would, when His work was accomplished, cease to have a distinct personal existence. But this clause seems to contradict 1 Corinthians xv. 24-28, "He shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father. . . . Then shall the Son also Himself be subjected to Him that did subject all things unto Him, that God may be all in all." But it is probably merely the reign of Christ as Mediator and Messiah which is in view in these verses. This Kingdom "synchronizes . . . with the interval between the First Advent and the Second. With the consummation of its functions, with the perfect deliverance of God's creation, the kingdom of Christ is merged in the perfect kingdom of God that God may be all in all."¹ He is now the Father's Vice-gerent in governing the world (cf. Matt. xxviii. 18). This office will come to an end when its work is done. But He will share in the kingdom of the Father. No other subjugation of Him is in view except what is involved in Sonship.

We are here again reminded that it is only in relation to us men and our salvation that the Trinity is at all clearly revealed to us. The mutual relations of the Essential Trinity are matters of inference from revelation rather than themselves actually revealed.

(On this article, see Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, and art. "Eschatology of New Testament" in Hastings' *D.B.*; Oesterley, *Doctrine of the Last Things*; Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things*. Also articles in Hastings' *D.B.* on "Parousia" and in *Dict. C.G.* on "Eschatology," "Coming Again," and "Parousia."

¹ Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, 52.

ARTICLE VIII

THE HOLY GHOST

“I believe in the Holy Ghost.”

“I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the prophets.”

HERE begins the third part of the Creed, concerned with the Holy Ghost, those among whom He specially works (the Church), and their privileges, both present (Communion, Forgiveness) and future (Resurrection and Eternal Life). Some such connexion is preferable to regarding this last division as made up of miscellaneous disconnected objects of belief.

This article is very brief in the Apostles' Creed, and was not any longer in the Creed of the Council of Nicaea, which ended with it; but our “Nicene” Creed expresses the doctrine of the Person of the Spirit at some length. It had come to the front in the later stages of the Arian controversy. One branch of the Semi-Arians, called Macedonians after Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, admitted the Divinity of the Son but denied that of the Spirit. The Person of the Spirit is expounded in the earlier part of the Athanasian Creed.

“Ghost” is the old English word for “spirit”; this latter term comes from the Latin. Hence “The Holy Ghost” (cf. German, *Der Heilige Geist*) occurs in all English

versions in the Creed, and is much more common in our Bible than "Holy Spirit." This latter term has however the advantage of being closer to the equivalent phrases "the Spirit of God," or "the Spirit," as well as to the adjective "spiritual." "Ghostly" in this sense occurs several times in the Book of Common Prayer,¹ but not in the Bible.

The Divinity of the Holy Spirit is manifest. In the Old Testament "the Spirit of God is God actually present and in operation."² In the New Testament the Spirit is said to search the depths of God, fully to comprehend God (1 Cor. ii. 10-11); thus He must necessarily be divine and infinite. So, iii. 16, Christians are the Temple of God, His Shrine or Sanctuary (*ναός*); but He who dwells in them is the Spirit of God. Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost could not be irremissible (Mark iii. 29) unless He were divine. Cf. also Acts v. 3-4. But this is hardly in question now; the Macedonian position of a created personal Being is quite untenable.

But His distinct Personality³ is a more difficult point. It is sometimes hard, when the Holy Spirit is mentioned, to be sure whether a personal presence is in view, or merely an operation or gift. And it has often been maintained that when the personal reference is clear, it means simply God Himself at work upon or in man. Thus the Spirit becomes reduced to a divine influence or operation, or a name for God acting in certain ways. Such a view is quite consistent with the Old Testament mentions of the Spirit, taken by themselves, and with a

¹ E.g. "ghostly counsel and advice," "our ghostly enemy" "the spirit of ghostly strength."

² Davidson, *Theology of O.T.*, 127.

³ For meaning, see on Art. I, p. 25.

large number of New Testament passages. But it breaks down before other New Testament passages, which (a) give the Spirit a personal title and ascribe to Him personal action, and (b) distinguish Him from the Father and the Son. These distinct passages must guide the interpretation of the vaguer ones, and not vice versa; they cannot adequately be explained as mere personifications.

The most distinct revelation of the Spirit is in the Lord's last discourse, John xiv.-xvi. Here His Personality appears. He is called a Paraclete, i.e. Advocate or Helper,¹ as such He takes Christ's place with His disciples. So the masculine pronoun is used of Him, though πνεῦμα (Spirit) is neuter (xiv. 26, xv. 26, xvi. 8, 13, 14). "The personality of the Deputy is in fact essential to the Lord's reasoning; no impersonal influence could supply the lack of personal guidance . . . which the Apostles would feel when the Lord was taken from them."² So the work ascribed to Him of teaching, bearing witness, convicting of sin, is a personal work. And He is expressly distinguished from both Father and Son, xiv. 16, 26, "Whom the Father will send in My Name"; xv. 26, "When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father." These passages do not support the view that the Spirit in those chapters means simply the spiritual presence of the exalted Christ, though there is a very close connexion between them (xiv. 16-18).³

Other passages of the New Testament agree in ascribing the same personal attributes and the same distinc-

¹ See below, p. 26.

² Swete, Hastings' *D.B.* art. "Holy Spirit," p. 408; cp. also Swete, *Holy Spirit in N.T.*, p. 292.

³ See Swete, *u.s.* p. 300.

tion from the Father and the Son. We have not to do with a conception peculiar to one author. The Spirit helps our infirmities and makes intercession for us, Romans viii. 26. He apportions gifts, "dividing to each severally as He wills," 1 Corinthians xii. 11; He may be grieved, Ephesians iv. 30. He is joined with Father and Son in the words of institution of Baptism, which is thus declared to bring the believer into union with all Three, and to dedicate him to Their service. The same combination occurs in the benediction, 2 Corinthians xiii. 14; so 1 Peter i. 2, and elsewhere.¹

Passages which appear non-personal are usually either (a) passages where some gift, operation, or influence of the Spirit is in view rather than Himself. This is usually the case where in the Greek *πνεῦμα* (*ἅγιον*) occurs without article; *τὸ πνεῦμα* is nearly always distinctly personal.² Or (b) man's own spirit, the highest part of his nature, by which he is connected with God, is really in view, rather than the Spirit of God; or the thought is of the human spirit under the influence of the Spirit of God.³ This question as to the precise reference of "spirit" often arises when it is opposed to "flesh"; hence it is that while the Authorized Version writes "Spirit" with a capital throughout Romans viii., the Revised Version does so only occasionally, where the Holy Spirit is plainly meant.

The Holy Spirit is the Breath of Life. (*Spiritus*, *πνεῦμα* and *רוּחַ*, are literally "Breath"). He is the Source of all life, animal, intellectual and spiritual; hence He is called

¹ See on Article I, p. 24.

² See Swete, *Holy Spirit in N.T.*, Ap. P. p. 395. After prepositions the article is commonly omitted, though it would stand otherwise.

³ See Swete, as above, 398; also in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 410.

in the Nicene Creed "the Giver of life" (τὸ ζωοποιόν). The presence of inspiration or of enthusiasm for God's cause is due to Him; so also the consciousness of God's presence, insight into His mind. This is true not only of exceptional cases, in which it was probably first recognized, but in ordinary normal instances also.

In the Old Testament we read of His work, (a) in Creation, Genesis i. 2, apparently giving life to lifeless matter; Psalm civ. 30; (b) as the Source of wisdom and skill of various kinds, inspiring Joseph, Genesis xli. 38, Bezaleel, Exodus xxxi. 3, Joshua, Numbers xxvii. 18; (c) as the Source of power, coming upon the Judges, e.g. Gideon, Judges vi. 34, Samson xiv. 6; (d) as the Source of holiness, Psalms li. 10-12, cxliii. 10; especially in promises of the future, e.g. Ezekiel xxxvi. 27, "I will put my Spirit within you." (e) He inspired the Prophets, e.g. 2 Samuel xxiii. 2. (f) He was to work more widely in the Messianic times; to rest in fulness on the Messiah (Isa. xi. 2), and to be bestowed on all (Joel ii. 28-29).

But for the full revelation of the Holy Spirit we must look to the New Testament. Compared with what followed it could be said that the Spirit was not yet (John vii. 39, οὐπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα—the gifts and operation are in view rather than the Person). The Lord promised that He would send the Spirit after His departure; the disciples should be "baptized with the Holy Ghost" (Acts i. 5). This was fulfilled at Pentecost (Acts ii.); the Spirit came upon them with the special sign of "tongues." The exact nature of this gift is not clear, as the two passages which describe it at any length, Acts ii. and 1 Corinthians xiv., leave different impressions.¹

¹ See Knowling on Acts ii.; Dawson Walker, *The Gift of Tongues*.

Acts ii. certainly gives the idea of genuine languages or dialects, understood by hearers; though not necessarily connected utterances, or understood, except vaguely, by the speaker. 1 Corinthians xiv. seems to imply more incoherent cries, not understood by speaker or hearer, unless either possessed the special gift of interpretation. It is possible that Acts ii. gives its highest form, 1 Corinthians xiv. its normal one. There is no probability that it included the power to speak at will in any foreign language not previously learnt; it is not spoken of in connexion with missionary work, and such a power would be hardly necessary, as some form of Greek or of Aramaic was prevalent wherever the apostles went. St. Paul, though he possessed the gift, depreciates it compared with prophecy, the other great sign of the Spirit's presence (1 Cor. xiv. 5 f.). These two gifts are repeatedly mentioned in connexion with the presence of the Spirit, almost as constituting it; but other passages show that His presence is manifested in other ways, by other gifts and graces.

The Book of the "Acts" has been called "the Gospel of the Holy Spirit." His name occurs in almost every page. He inspires the apostles to speak (e.g. iv. 8), and guides them in each new step (x. 19, xiii. 2-4). So in the Epistles "a certain doctrine of the Holy Ghost is worked up into the very substance of Apostolic teaching."¹ Christian life is life in the Spirit (Rom. viii.). He is the source of all Christian gifts and graces (1 Cor. xii.). He is the means of conversion, and He gives renewed spiritual life. "No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. xii. 3).

His chief works are (a) to convince of sin. This may be

¹ Goodwin, *Foundations*, p. 251.

meant in Genesis vi. 3 ("strive with men," but Revised Version gives other renderings, "rule" or "abide"). It is clearly expressed in John xvi. 8, "convict the world in respect of sin, righteousness, and judgment." He speaks to us through our conscience, revealing to us our sinfulness, our offences against God's righteousness.

(b) To teach—to reveal Christ or to reveal the Scriptures. "He is the Spirit of truth. His function is to disclose and diffuse truth in the world." Cf. John xiv. 26, "He shall teach you all things"; xvi. 13, "He shall guide you into all the truth"—"all that is essential to the knowledge of God or to the guidance of life."¹ He brings us to Christ as Saviour and Teacher, and makes us enter into His mind. He Who inspired the Scriptures helps us to understand them, by clearing away carelessness and prejudice, and by bringing the words home to us.

(c) To sanctify and strengthen. The Spirit is the opponent of the "flesh," our weak and sinful nature. "Flesh" does not in this connexion mean precisely "body," for hatred and sedition are reckoned among the works of the flesh (Gal. v. 20); but the lower part of man's nature, his appetites and passions, "the earthly nature of man apart from divine influence, and therefore prone to sin and opposed to God; . . . it includes whatever in the soul is weak, low, debased, tending to ungodliness and vice."² The work of the Spirit is to counteract this tendency, to sanctify and strengthen us, and bring us into obedience to God. Cf. Romans viii. 5-13, Galatians v. 16-26.

(d) To assure of God's love. He is the Spirit of adoption, assuring us that we are sons of God, Romans viii. 14-17.

¹ Swete, *Holy Spirit in N.T.*, 153.

² Grimm-Thayer, s.v. *σάρξ*.

He sheds abroad in our hearts the love of God, i.e. our sense of that love, Romans v. 5. His presence is an earnest of future blessings, of complete salvation of body and soul, Romans viii. 11, 13, Ephesians i. 14.

(e) In general, it is His work to unite to Christ. He is the Spirit of Christ ; by Him Christ dwells in us. All inward grace is really the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, "the freely given presence of the Holy Spirit in the man, applying Christ to him, and manifesting Christ in and through Him."¹ It is this special relation to Christ which is brought out by the doctrine of the "Dual Procession."²

He is called in John xiv.-xvi. the Paraclete or Comforter (παράκλητος). Alternative renderings are "Advocate" or "Helper" (John xiv. 16, R.V. margin). The same word is used of Christ, 1 John i. 1, where it is rendered "Advocate." The form of the word is passive ; as κλητός means "one called," so παράκλητος means "one called in" for counsel and help ; not actively, "one who comforts or encourages."³ The word is used both in Classical Greek and in later Hebrew and Aramaic, as "Advocate" in opposition to "Accuser" (κατήγορος, κατήγωρ). "The Holy Spirit is thus represented as the Advocate, the Counsel, who suggests true reasonings to our minds, and true courses of action for our lives, who convicts our adversary the world of wrong, and pleads our cause before God our Father."⁴ One element of this appears in Luke xii. 12, Matthew x. 20. The rendering "Comforter" brings out only one side of His work.

¹ Moule, *Christian Doctrine*, 144.

² See p. 129.

³ Yet it appears used in this sense by some of the later Greek versions.

⁴ Lightfoot, *Fresh Revision*, p. 60.

(See Lightfoot, *Fresh Revision of N.T.*; Hastings, art. "Paraclete," in *D.B.*; Watkins, in *Ellicott's Commentary on St. John*, detached note; Hare, *Mission of the Comforter*.)

The Nicene Creed says that the Holy Ghost "proceedeth from the Father and the Son." But as accepted at Constantinople and Chalcedon, it did not contain the last three words ("and the Son," "Filioque"); they came later into Latin forms of the Creed, and have become accepted in the West, but never by the Eastern Church. The Creed originally simply declared the Spirit to "proceed" or "originate" from the Father, according to John xv. 26, where however it is uncertain whether the primary meaning is not simply "mission" rather than "origination." The Greek Fathers kept close to this, affirming indeed that the Spirit receives of the Son,¹ or in some cases even that He proceeds from the Father *through* the Son, but not that He proceeds *from* the Son. This limitation was due partly to hesitation to go beyond Scripture, partly to anxiety to insist upon the Father as the sole Fountain of Godhead. But in the West anxiety to emphasize the perfect equality of the Son with the Father led to the doctrinal statement of the Spirit's "dual procession," from the Son as well as from the Father. This is stated, though not quite definitely, by Hilary and Ambrose, and is laid down distinctly by Augustine and later writers.

At the Third Council of Toledo, 589, when the Visigoths of Spain renounced Arianism, the "Nicene" Creed was recited with the additional words "et Filio" ("and the Son"). This was probably not an intentional addition, but a mere mistake; these words, expressing the current

¹ So in the longer Creed of Epiphanius.

doctrine, had somehow crept into copies of the Creed, which had not hitherto been used in public worship in the West.¹ From Spain this addition spread to the Franks. In 787 the Second Council of Nicaea accepted a statement of Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, "that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father through the Son." On the proceedings of this Council being communicated to the West, Charles the Great objected (to Pope Hadrian) that this doctrine of Tarasius was not according to the Nicene Creed. In 809 the Greeks accused some Latin monks at Jerusalem of heresy, because of their use of this addition ; they appealed to Pope Leo III, urging that the words were included in the Creed used in the Emperor's chapel, in books sent them by him, and in the Athanasian Creed. The Council of Aachen pressed the addition upon the Pope, but he, while admitting the doctrine, refused to have the Creed altered, and had the uninterpolated Creed engraved on two silver shields, publicly displayed. But the addition continued to be used in the West outside Rome, and finally crept in there also. Its use formed one of the charges of heresy brought by Photius of Constantinople against Nicholas of Rome and the Western Church, 867. It was finally accepted at Rome in 1014, when, at the instance of the Emperor Henry II, the Creed was introduced into the Liturgy. It contributed to the final separation of the Eastern and Western Churches, 1054. (An equally hotly contested point was the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The real causes of separation were political interests.) When later on Constantinople was threatened by the Turks, Greek envoys accepted the Western addition,

¹ Gibson, *Articles*, 216 ; *Creeds*, 160.

after explanation, at the Council of Florence, 1439 ; but it was repudiated on their return.

But the irregularity of the introduction of the words into the Creed does not affect the truth of the doctrine. Many Scripture passages show a close connexion between the Spirit and the Son. He is called the Spirit of Jesus, Acts xvi. 7 ; of Christ, Romans viii. 9 ; of the Son of God, Galatians iv. 6. He is sent and bestowed by Christ, John xv. 26, xx. 22, Acts ii. 33. He takes of the things of Christ and declares them to us, John xvi. 14, It is through Him that Christ dwells in us ; to have the Spirit of Christ is to have Christ, Romans viii. 9-10, etc. In Revelation xxii. 1, we read of the river of water of life, proceeding (ἐκπορευόμενον) out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. If we may interpret by John vii. 38-39, this living water is the Holy Spirit. (But mission rather than origination is probably in view.) Thus He seems as closely connected with the Son as with the Father, and may well be said to proceed from both, provided they are not regarded as two independent Sources. The Father is the ultimate Source of both Son and Spirit.

(For the history, see Gibson, "*Articles*," and "*Creeds*." For the doctrine see also Milligan, *Ascension*, 172 and 189 ; Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, 197, 203.)

The one part of the Spirit's work mentioned in the Creeds, apart from His creative work in the Lord's Incarnation, is "Inspiration"—"Who spake by the prophets." This is claimed in the Old Testament, and is repeatedly affirmed in the New Testament as regards the Old Testament Scriptures ; e.g. Acts iv. 25, "Who by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of our father David, did say." Hebrews iii. 7, "as the Holy Ghost saith (Ps. xcv.) ; 2 Peter i. 21, 2 Timothy iii. 16, "all Scripture is given

by inspiration of God." (The Revised Version, "every Scripture inspired of God" assumes what the Authorized Version above asserts.) We extend this inspiration to the New Testament also; it also is the Word of God, His message to us, because inspired by His Spirit. The whole Bible is God's Word—the inspired record of the historic revelation which He has given to men. He who gave the revelation inspired men to express it and to record it, and we find in it His voice speaking to our souls. The great effects of Inspiration as described John v. 39 and 2 Timothy iii. 15-16 are spiritual and practical—to bestow eternal life; to make wise unto salvation, to make the man of God complete, furnished to every good work.

But as these successive revelations were made to men and recorded and preserved by men, there is necessarily a human element also in our Bible; and it is with this that Criticism—whether textual, literary, or historical—deals. Some degree of criticism is necessary for all intelligent use of the Bible, e.g. to distinguish what examples are to be imitated and what avoided; what is to be taken literally and what figuratively. No one would now dispute the existence of the human element; only its extent, and the degree in which the divine inspiration guarantees the accuracy of the record. But Inspiration is not bound up with any special view as to the extent of this divine guarantee. It is a mistake to meet critical positions by declaring them to be contrary to Inspiration, while in fact they are opposed only to some particular view of Inspiration. They should be met on their own merits or demerits, apart from this. "Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament; it presupposes it;

it seeks only to determine the conditions under which it operates, and the literary forms through which it manifests itself.”¹ An acceptable theory of Inspiration must allow for facts ascertained with certainty or with reasonable probability by critical processes ; it must not ignore these on *a priori* grounds. In particular we must avoid putting the dilemma “ either everything historically accurate and certain, or else everything utterly unreliable.” Such a dilemma never holds good in any other case ; it is never applied by historians to any document before them. And the object of Scripture is to show the way of salvation, not to teach science or history. Even proved inaccuracy in minor details can therefore be of little consequence.

(On Inspiration, see Watson, *Inspiration* ; Sanday, *Inspiration* ; Paterson Smyth, *How God inspired the Bible*.)

(On this Article generally, see Swete, Hastings’ *D.B.*, art. “ Holy Spirit ” ; Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the N.T.* ; Gibson, *Thirty-nine Articles* ; Moule, *Veni Creator* ; Welldon, *Revelation of the Holy Spirit*.)

¹ Driver, *Introduction to Literature of Old Testament*, p. xx.

ARTICLE IX

THE CHURCH

"The Holy Catholic Church ; the Communion of Saints."
"I believe one (Holy) Catholic and Apostolic Church."

OUR word "Church," like its equivalents in other languages, includes two distinct meanings: (a) the congregation or community; (b) their place of assembly for worship, etc. This transition is very natural; it has apparently taken place in both directions. Our word and its equivalent in other Teutonic languages (e.g. German, "Kirche") probably comes from the Greek word *κυριακόν* (the Lord's House), used not infrequently in ecclesiastical Greek, but only in the sense of the building.¹ (There are rival derivations of our word, but all start from some word denoting the *building*.) The corresponding words, however, in other European languages, Keltic (e.g. Welsh, "eglwys"), as well as Romance (e.g. French, "église"), come from the Greek word *ἐκκλησία*, which originally meant, as it always does in Scripture, only the assembly or community; though later it acquired the other use also. 1 Corinthians xi. 18 is no exception to the Biblical use of the word, but it shows how the other one arose; it means "when ye come

¹ See quotation from Cyril, below; this suggests that the word was rather colloquial. It occurs in Acts of the Councils of Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Laodicea. See Note on Canon XV. of Ancyra in Routh, *Rel. Sac.* iii. 488.

together 'in congregation,' " or "at a church meeting." Of course only the meaning "community" is in view in the Creed.

The word ἐκκλησία is used regularly in classical Greek of the "assembly" of citizens, who were summoned, or called, to it from their occupations.¹ It is used repeatedly in the Greek Old Testament as the equivalent of לְהִתְקַבֵּץ, Revised Version "assembly," e.g. Deuteronomy xxxi. 30.² (So Acts vii. 38, Moses was in the church (ἐκκλησία) in the wilderness.) The word occurs only twice in the Gospels; Matthew xvi. 18, "on this rock I will build my church," a prophecy of the future; and Matthew xviii. 17, "tell it unto the church," where some local community, Jewish or Christian, is meant.

But our Lord began to form His Church as soon as He began to gather disciples round Him. This discipleship contained precisely the conditions by which the Church subsisted afterwards; i.e. "faith and devotion to the Lord, felt and exercised in union; and consequent brotherly love."³ It was, as is shown, not only by Matthew xvi. 18 but also by Christ's methods generally, an essential part of His purpose to found a Church, i.e. an organized society which should continue to maintain and spread the truths which He had revealed by His teaching, life, death, and resurrection. Therefore He devoted much time and pains to the teaching and training of the disciples who formed the beginning of this Church, especially their leaders and representatives, the Twelve.⁴ And when about to leave them He ordained sacraments to

¹ ἐκ and καλεῖν. The thought is not that of selection from a larger number.

² Cf. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 4-7.

³ Hort, *u.s.* p. 20.

⁴ Cf. Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*.

admit to this society, and to be a bond of union with Him and with one another.

It is disputed whether the Church is meant by "the kingdom of heaven,"¹ or "of God," the common subject of our Lord's teaching. A full examination of passages where the phrase occurs shows that while the Kingdom and the Church are closely connected, they cannot be precisely identified. The Kingdom is a very comprehensive phrase, sometimes referring to the present, sometimes to the future; sometimes meaning God's rule, reign, or kingship, exercised in the universe or accepted by believers; sometimes the sphere of this rule, His realm or kingdom. It is only when it means God's realm, the sphere in which His rule is specially recognized or exercised (e.g. Matt. xiii. 24-30, 36-43) that the Kingdom corresponds to the Church. The Church may be called the visible representative of the Kingdom of God, or the primary instrument of its sway; but what is said in the Gospels about the Kingdom is not *ipso facto* true of the Church.²

(On the Kingdom of God, see Robertson, *Regnum Dei*; articles in Hastings' *D.B.*, by Sanday, "Jesus Christ," and Orr, "Kingdom of God"; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 265-270.)

It was not till the Day of Pentecost that the Church was established inwardly and extended outwardly. This day has often been called the Birthday of the Church, though this might well be carried back to the day when John's two disciples followed Jesus, John i. 37, or else

¹ Cf. Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, p. 62; "The Kingdom of Heaven" is St. Matthew's phrase for what is elsewhere called "the Kingdom of God."

² Hort, *u.s.*, p. 19; cf. Robertson, *u.s.*, 75, 98.

to that of the great Commission, John xx. 21-23. We see how the new disciples were received into the community, Acts ii. 41-42. Those who received St. Peter's words were baptized; and all continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers. From this point the word "Church" occurs frequently in the New Testament.

It is however used in more than one sense; its meaning naturally developed. This ambiguity has not seldom led to misconceptions, what is said of the Church in one sense having been applied to it in another.¹ The word is never in the New Testament limited to the officials or clergy; it belongs to the whole community of Christians. But this does not prevent acts ascribed to the Church from having been actually performed simply by its officers or representatives, e.g. Acts xi. 22.

One main use is the purely local one—the community of Christians in this or that place, e.g. at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1, xiv. 27), or Corinth (1 Cor. i. 2); so the "Seven Churches in Asia" (Rev. i. 4). In a still narrower sense we read of the Church in the house of some leading Christian, i.e. the small company who regularly met there; e.g. Romans xvi. 5 (Prisca and Aquila); Colossians iv. 11 (Nymphas).

It is also used generally—the sum total of all Churches and their members is regarded as making up one great Church of God. So Acts ix. 31, Revised Version; 1 Cor. xii. 28 (God has appointed various offices and ministries in the Church). It is not always easy to see whether a single Church or the whole Christian community is meant,

¹ E.g. the indestructibility of the universal Church cannot truly be said to hold good of any given local one; witness that of N. Africa.

e.g. 1 Cor. x. 32 ; so in 1 Timothy iii. 15, it is doubtful whether each single church is called *a* pillar and stay of the truth ¹ or the whole Church *the* pillar and stay of it. This united Church is sometimes spoken of in its ideal privileges and perfection. It is the Body of Christ, of which He is the Head, in which He is fulfilled and completed (1 Cor. xii. 27, Eph. i. 22-23).

It is obvious that there are members of individual churches, and so of the whole united Church, who are not truly Christ's disciples, but only nominally ; united to Him only outwardly, not inwardly and spiritually. No exercise of discipline will afford complete security against this. Hence the term " Invisible Church " is often used to signify the genuine nucleus of the visible Church ; true Christians as distinct from merely professing ones. It also includes the saints at rest, as well as those on earth ; and, commonly, believers in Christ not belonging to any branch of the visible Church. Both the conception and the phrase go back to St. Augustine, who means by the latter the total number of God's elect.² This term is however much criticised ; it has certainly some tendency to depreciate the importance of the visible Church, and to ignore the main objects for which the Church was founded. But it stands for facts admitted even by most of its critics—that in the visible Church there are spurious, nominal, hypocritical members, to whom the spiritual blessings enjoyed by its true members do not really belong ; and that the position and privileges ascribed to it in Scripture belong only imperfectly to it in its outwardly organized form at any moment or in any place. Perhaps

¹ See Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, p. 174.

² For his view, see Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, Lecture V. especially pages 194-201.

however "ideal" would be a better term than "invisible," because showing better the connexion between the two aspects.

Promises made to individual Christians hold good as a rule only to those who are governed by the Spirit and Word of God ; so promises made to the Church hold good to actual churches only in so far as they are so governed. The same holds good even of the whole sum of particular churches, or of the whole organized Church at any given time.¹ The Spirit will not necessarily guide into truth any who are thinking only or mainly of their own interests or of those of their party, or who have not earnestly and candidly endeavoured to ascertain the truth. The promises and privileges belonging to the Church in its ideal state are enjoyed only imperfectly by it in its actual condition.

But we must beware of undervaluing the visible Church. The objects for which the Church, as a Church, was founded, are only to be accomplished by it as an actual visible organized body. These are (a) Mutual help and fellowship. The Church is "a universal brotherhood knit together to build up each of its members into holiness."² We are not only members of Christ, but also members one of another. (b) Testimony and extension. The work of the Church is to proclaim Christ and bear witness to Him ; to carry on His work, keep alive His teaching, and spread it throughout the world. He "began to do and teach" while on earth ; then He commissioned His Church to continue His work.

Those who dispute the importance of the actual visible

¹ See Thirty-Nine Articles—XXI. (Authority of General Councils), and latter part of XIX.

² Lock, *Lux Mundi*, p. 272 ; cf. Griffith Thomas, *Catholic Faith*, p. 187.

Church may be men who carry individualism to extremes. But more often they have much too narrow a conception of the Church, perhaps limiting its action to what is purely official or even synodal, and excluding all non-official work of its members, however much on Christian lines. All this ought to be included, not excluded. The Church does not consist merely of the clergy, nor is its work limited to official and synodal action. The Church is in truth the company of all professing Christians, the sum of all organized Churches, and all their members ; and all Christian work by any of these is part of the work of the Church of Christ.

The Church has great authority, though not infallibility. Any institution or society has the right to lay down rules or laws for its members ; this applies to the Church as well as to any other society. And the probabilities are strongly in favour of the community being right as against an individual, especially in matters, whether of doctrine or of practice, which have approved themselves to a number of generations of Christian people. Any member of any Church ought therefore to respect and defer to the rules and teaching of that Church, if possible. This is a still more obvious duty when this rule or teaching is common to all or nearly all Christian Churches, and has come down from primitive times. Yet the Church is not infallible. New truths, or new applications of old ones, may come to be recognized ; every interpretation of Scripture, not perfectly obvious, must have been a novelty at some time. " In fact the whole progress of the human race depends on the two things—human teaching, and teaching which will submit to correction." ¹ This holds good of religious knowledge as well as secular.

¹ Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*, 112. See also Swete, *Holy Spirit in New Testament*, 315.

The Church is a "witness and keeper (i.e. preserver, "conservatrix") of Holy Writ." From the Church, both historically and at the present time, we receive and know the Bible. It was written by members of the Church; has been preserved by successive members of it, attested by their evidence, recognized by them as the source of proof for the truth of their teaching. From the Church we get the Canon of Scripture; without its historic testimony the limits of this would be quite uncertain. It is true that the Bible as a whole or unity commends itself to the heart as the Word of God; but this is true very unequally of its various books. Again, no one does get his religious ideas simply and solely from the Bible; the Church, in a broad sense, has a good deal to do with them. We first learn Christian truths from our parents or teachers, only supporting or supplementing this teaching from the Bible; and when we do study it for ourselves our interpretations and religious ideas are necessarily coloured by our previous training, or by current Church views. Thus to get one's religion from the Bible apart from the Church is not only an unwise and conceited thing to attempt; it is practically impossible to perform it in a Christian country. In the mission field a man has often got his first ideas of Christian truth from a copy of the Scriptures, but he would not get far without seeking Christian instruction. On the other hand, in a new mission at least, converts are at first dependent on oral teaching; but a satisfactory and permanent Church must have the Scriptures in its own language.

On the other hand it is sometimes argued that the Church is independent of the Bible. The Church was before the Bible; the New Testament writings mostly presuppose previous teaching. But while the Church

was before the Bible 1860 years ago, the Church of the present day is more than 1800 years after it. It is admitted that the Bible gives us the teaching of the Apostles ; we can only be sure that present day teaching is on the right lines, if it agrees with this. Anything not found in substance there may be a corruption. Apart from the Bible we have really no means of knowing in detail and with full security, what the Apostles taught.

“ Notes of the Church ” mean the marks or characteristics by which the Church may be distinguished from other societies, or the true Church from rival claimants. Our Nineteenth Article agrees with the Augsburg Confession in defining the (or “ a ”) visible Church of Christ as a company of believers in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duly administered according to Christ’s ordinance in all essential points. This is a broad definition, claiming rather than limiting.

There is a great risk in laying down “ Notes of the Church,” of emphasizing some point in which a rival is deficient ; of laying down as essential for the existence of the Church things which are at the most essential only to its well-being. Hooker says well, “ Because the only object which separateth ours from other religions is Jesus Christ, in whom none but the Church doth believe and whom none but the Church doth worship, we find that accordingly the Apostles do everywhere distinguish hereby the Church from infidels and from Jews, accounting them which call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be His Church. If we go lower we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either in deed or in men’s opinions and conceits. This is the error of all

popish definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church essentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are.”¹

It is common to lay down episcopal succession² as a note of the true Church. This practically results in limiting the Catholic Church to the Anglican, Roman and Eastern communions, excluding from it nearly all other religious bodies.³ This view regards the undoubted fact that episcopacy was the universal form of Church government from the second century onwards, as proving that this was ordained by the apostles, possibly following the instructions of the risen Lord Himself, as a universal law for all time, essential to the continuity of the Church. But episcopacy does not appear to have been universal in the sub-apostolic age ; it seems to have been a thing of gradual growth ; and, assuming apostolic institution or sanction, it does not follow that everything ordained by the apostles was meant to be universal for all time.

A better form of this argument is that, however the episcopate arose, ordination became reserved to it. Therefore wherever the episcopate ceased, and presbyters took upon themselves to ordain others, they exceeded their commission, claiming to exercise a power which they had never received. Hence there is in such cases no succession, and so no security of valid orders or sacraments. But the succession may be held to be rather in the presbyterate, or ultimately in the Church generally ; then in such cases the episcopate has been simply put in

¹ E.P. V. lxviii. 6.

² Episcopacy without unbroken succession is of no value.

³ The Old Catholics would be included ; possibly also the Moravians and Swedes.

commission, that which grew out of the presbyterate being reabsorbed into it. Even if there has been in such cases the moral fault of self-assertion, it is not clear why this should be more fatal to the continuity of the Church than other moral faults in other consecrators. Historical succession is valuable but not essential.

The true conditions seem rather (*a*) Maintenance of the essential facts of historical Christianity—the Lordship of Christ, His Incarnation and His Resurrection (Rom. x. 9, 1 John iv. 2, 2 John 7); and (*b*) the presence of the Spirit of God, shown in Christian character and work.

It is often maintained that according to Scripture and antiquity there can be only one Church in one place; therefore any rival religious body can be no Church. This is brought forward against Nonconformists; but the argument compels us to “unchurch” the Romanists of this country also. If they, though opposing us in our own country, may yet be a part of the Catholic Church, so may other religious bodies. The Church of England is indeed the direct historic representative of the Church as originally founded in this country; all other bodies here have split off from it, and need to justify their separate existence. But this does not prevent them being branches of the One Church. The divisions may be wide at the surface, without going down to the bottom.

The Church is called in the Creeds, “One,” “Holy,” “Catholic,” and “Apostolic.”

Its Oneness is described in Ephesians iv. 4-6. All its members form one Body, with one and the same Spirit dwelling in it and in each member of it; they all have one and the same hope, Lord, faith, baptism, God and Father. This was more apparent then than it is amidst all the competing divisions of the present day. But

behind the differences which separate various religious bodies, they have the main points in common ; and there is a spiritual unity in Christ, between the true members of all. But at the same time the unity of the Church is far from being apparent as it should be (John xvii. 21). The Romanist can solve the problem by excluding from the Church, in the West at any rate, all religious bodies except his own ; if we cannot do this, it is of little use to limit the number of branches of the Church to three or four ; if there may be so many, consistently with the unity of the Church, why not more ?

The existence of competing divisions of the Church is a great evil, though not altogether an unmixed one, as it secures against stagnation. It is indeed sometimes exaggerated, as in stating its effect upon missionary work. Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Buddhism have their own divisions, and objections raised by their adherents against the divisions of Christianity are often mere excuses ; while missionaries of various Churches can generally work in harmony. Again, some of the evils referred to these divisions may spring quite as much from differences of opinion or of practice within the same Church. Still, after all deductions, these divisions are responsible for much waste of energy and of funds, many quarrels and many hindrances to Christian progress, besides occasioning one-sided developments in theology or religion. Separation, if not an imperative duty or an unavoidable necessity, is a great sin ; it is not a thing to be carried out except on most urgent grounds. It stands on much the same footing as rebellion or revolution. This is more realized now than a few years back, and consequently the prospects of reunion are somewhat brighter. But this can only be accomplished (*a*) by mutual con-

cessions, not by expecting the unconditional or practically unconditional surrender of any one party; and (b) by gradual stages, those with most in common as regards doctrine or organization being the first to reunite. There have been several such reunions during the past few years. Meanwhile it is important that members of various churches should cooperate as far as possible not merely in social but in religious work, and so come to understand each other better.

The Church is Holy¹ in two senses. (a) It and all its members are *consecrated* to the service of God; (b) in so far as they are true to this ideal, they are actually *holy*, overcoming sin and carrying out God's will. Christians are in the New Testament repeatedly called "saints" (*ἁγιοι*), being regarded according to their status and profession. They are consecrated, made God's people; their ideal is holiness; they are actually holy so far as this is being realized. Of course in actual fact the evil are ever mingled with the good, as our Lord's parables show (e.g. Matt. xiii. 24 f.). The Church of England is extremely weak in point of discipline; other Churches are much stronger. But while attempts to form a perfectly pure Church have often been made, from the Donatists down to the Plymouth Brethren, they have not had permanent success; either the limits grew looser, or else strictness leads to continued divisions. Even in genuine Christians there is much imperfection; yet consecration is their position, holiness their aim. So "the Temple of God is holy, which Temple ye are." (1 Cor. iii. 19.)

The word "Catholic" means "universal." This latter

¹ So in the true text of the Nicene Creed, as well as the Apostles' Creed (Gibson, *Creeds*, 175).

word is used of the Church several times in the Book of Common Prayer (Litany, Collect for Ember Weeks, Prayer for Church Militant); while "Catholic" occurs outside the Creeds only in the Prayer for All Sorts and Conditions. The word is one of the latest additions to the Apostles' Creed, but was in our Nicene Creed from the first. It is first found in this connexion in Ignatius (Smyrn. 8), "Where the bishop may appear, there let the congregation be; even as wheresoever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church";—i.e. the Bishop is the centre of the local Church, as Christ is of the whole Church universal.¹ The letter of the Church of Smyrna, on the Martyrdom of Polycarp, is addressed "to all congregations of the holy and catholic church in every place." There may be a trace here of the meaning the word soon acquired—"orthodox" as opposed to "heretical."² This may have arisen from the fact that any heretical sect was to be found only in certain places, while the orthodox Church was widespread.³ So Cyril of Jerusalem⁴ tells his catechumens (xviii. 26) "When you are in a strange city, do not enquire simply where the church (το κυριακόν), is, for the heretical sects venture to call their dens churches, but ask where is the catholic church (ἐκκλησία)." So Pacian (*Ad Symph.* i. 3-4) says "Christian is my name, Catholic my surname." Other ideas of universality also gathered round the word; the Catholic Church holds the entire truth, not mere fragments of it; it has existed from the beginning of Christianity, is not of recent formation.

¹ See Lightfoot's note *in loc.*

² So "the Catholic Faith" in the Athanasian Creed.

³ So "Adamantius" (c. 300) says to the Marcionite, "We are called Catholics because of being throughout the whole world."

⁴ See Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, 79.

Thus the word originally meant "universal" as opposed to "local"; then "ancient and orthodox" as opposed to heretic and schismatic. It has of course been much misused; appropriated by Romanists, who have no exclusive or even special right to the title; or applied to things recommended solely or almost solely by their antiquity, often not very high. Our Reformers seem, outside the Creeds, to have preferred the word "universal," which gives the simple meaning apart from later associations. But we need only adhere to the primary meaning of the word, as explained in the Bidding Prayer ordered by the 55th Canon of 1603; "Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world."¹

Finally, the Church is Apostolic. It is "builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets" (Eph. ii. 20). It is founded upon them both historically and doctrinally; historically because they formed the first members of the Church, and were its first rulers, teachers and extenders; and doctrinally, because their teaching, verified by their writings, forms our rule of faith. All branches of the Church have in differing degrees this same historical and doctrinal connexion. These two points are quite sufficient; there is no need to lay down apostolical succession of orders through the episcopate without any traceable break or irregularity, as a necessary condition of connexion with the apostles, and so of being a true branch of the Church of God established by them.

(On this article, see Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*; Robertson, *Regnum Dei*; Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*;

¹ The Church of Scotland, then Presbyterian, was expressly included, as well as those of England and Ireland.

Moule, *Christian Doctrine*; also Lock, in *Lux Mundi*, "The Church," and the various books on the Christian Ministry.)

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS

This is mentioned as an appendix or corollary to the article of the Church, describing an essential privilege of its members. The clause forms one of the latest additions to the Apostles' Creed ¹ and is not in the Nicene or other Eastern Creed.

"Communion" means fellowship (cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 14 in Bible and Prayer Book), partnership, sharing or joint participation in things or with persons. The word "sanctorum" has been taken as neuter, not masculine; the phrase then means "participation in holy things," i.e. in the Sacraments. It is so taken in a Norman-French version of the twelfth century "*la communion des seintes choses*," ² and in the "*Lay Folks' Mass Book*" of the thirteenth, "*So I trow that housel es bothe flesshe and blode*." ³ But the word is almost certainly masculine, "saints"; in all probability close to its New Testament sense of "Christians"—(cf. Acts ix. 32, Rom. i. 7, etc.). It is the title of God's people, dedicated to Him and called to holiness. At a later time it became appropriated to specially distinguished Christians—Apostles, Martyrs, or persons of pre-eminent sanctity; so we commonly use the word. It has been taken in this sense here—"fellowship *with* the saints." But probably the genitive "sanctorum" is possessive, and the meaning is the fellowship which saints (i.e. Christians) enjoy. So the clause relates to the conscious unity of all Christians,

¹ First in Creed of Niceta, about 375.

² Heurtley, *Harmonia*, 93.

³ Gibson, *Creeds*, 73.

their joint participation in Christian blessings and their fellowship with God.

Fellowship was a distinguishing feature of the first Christians—Acts ii. 42, etc. They were full of the spirit of fellowship, feeling a common interest, showing mutual sympathy and help. This mutual intercourse and dependence is set forth, Romans xii., 1 Corinthians xii., under the image of the body and its members; and love of the brethren (*φιλadelphía*) is frequently spoken of as a Christian grace or duty. Fellowship with God as well as with fellow Christians is the great subject of 1 John; it was written (i. 3), “that ye may have fellowship with us; and our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ.” So Pearson shows¹ that the saints have communion with God the Father, the Son of God, the Holy Ghost, the holy angels, and with all other saints living in the Church. “We all have benefit of the same ordinances, all partake of the same promises; we are all endued with the graces of the same Spirit, all united with the same mutual love and affection.”

The best Scripture exposition of the Communion of Saints is Hebrews xii. 22 f., “Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling.” The exact force of some of these expressions is not clear; but the passage certainly describes present blessings, not merely future ones; we have fellowship in all these things and with^{all} these persons.

¹ *Creed*, p. 354 f.

This clause of the Creed thus reminds us of our privileges as Christians ; calls us to a sense of brotherhood, to mutual sympathy and help ; and bids us take interest in Christian people and Christian work of all kinds and in all places.

But this fellowship extends also to the faithful departed. The clause has often been almost exclusively confined to our union with them ; it is really much wider than this, but includes it. Their influence abides with us, we are affected by their work, their words, their example ; we think of them and give thanks for them. We realize that they have not ceased to be ; they are alive to God, dwelling in His presence. How much they may know of our condition is uncertain ; what we know of theirs is very slight ; but we are united to them in Christ, the Lord of both the dead and the living (Rom. xiv. 9), Who died for us that whether we wake or sleep (live or die), we may live together with Him (1 Thess. v. 10). He forms the link between the two worlds. He is their Lord and ours ; the nearer we are to Him, the nearer we are to them. In the above passage from "Hebrews," the "church of the firstborn *enrolled* in heaven" may mean the saints still on earth (cf. Luke x. 20, Phil. iv. 3) ; while the "spirits of good men made perfect" probably means the saints departed. Dean Vaughan interprets "made perfect" as "safe for ever." His comment is, "Not only have you present access for sympathy and communion, to 'the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world' ; that access, that advent is yours also to the faithful departed. Their good example is your heirloom ; their safe arrival in the home of the blessed is the pledge and warrant of yours. And not only thus. Already in worship and communion you meet and are at one with them."

Charles Wesley's hymn, contained in one shape or another in all hymnals,¹ well expresses this element of the Communion of Saints.—

All the servants of our King
In Heaven and earth, are one.

One family, we dwell in Him,
One Church, above, beneath;
Though now divided by the stream,
The narrow stream, of death.

One army of the living God,
To His command we bow;
Part of the host have crossed the flood,
And part are crossing now.

This clause is often said to justify, and indeed to call for, prayer for the departed. But this assumes the value of such prayers; and we really know very little about the state of the departed. Jeremy Taylor indeed says,² "It is ten to one but when we die, we shall find the state of affairs wholly different from all our opinions here, and that no man or sect hath guessed anything at all of it as it is." Thus it is not at all clear how our prayers can benefit them; and to remember them before God is all that we can confidently do.

Prayers for the dead are certainly as old as the third quarter of the second century,³ but are apparently not primitive. There is no clear instance of them in the New Testament; St. Paul's prayer for Onesiphorus, 2 Timothy i. 18, may indeed be such, but we have no certainty that he was dead; i. 16-18, iv. 19, may be explained by his absence from his family. Nor are such prayers found in the Apostolic Fathers, not even among the Liturgical

¹ *Hymns A. and M.* 221; *Hymnal Companion*, 400; *Church Hymns*, 379.

² "Holy Dying," near end.

³ e.g. Epitaph of Abercius.

prayers of Clement¹ and the "Teaching." Their absence among the prayers for many classes and conditions in Clement is particularly striking.

It is often said that the Jews of our Lord's time prayed habitually for the dead ; and that, as we nowhere read of His disapproving of it, He must be regarded as having sanctioned it. But there is no evidence of its having then been an established and regular practice ; and to maintain that our Lord approved every idea or practice existing among any of the Jews of His day, which He is not recorded as denouncing, would lead to strange results. The date of existing Jewish liturgical prayers is uncertain ; but the oldest, the "Eighteen Benedictions," which are regarded as going back substantially to our Lord's time, contain no prayers for the departed. The one evidence for their use is 2 Maccabees xii. 43-45. Here Judas Maccabaeus, finding on the bodies of Jews slain in battle "consecrated tokens of the idols of Jamnia," is said to have made a collection of 2,000 drachmas, which he sent to Jerusalem in order to offer a sacrifice for sin. (Nothing is said of this in 1 Macc.) This the writer of the book interprets as "a propitiation for them that had died, that they might be released from their sins." But he is evidently keen on drawing theological inferences from the action of Judas, who more probably regarded the whole people as involved in the idolatrous defilement, and so needing propitiation. Hence this passage does little more than show the opinions of the writer.

Prayers for the dead do not necessarily involve any idea of purgatory. They are traceable at least to the second century, while there was little idea of purgatory

¹ Near the close of his Epistle—§§ 59-61. See Lightfoot.

till the fourth, and it did not become an established view till the end of the sixth. Prayers were offered for God's remembrance ; for light, peace, or refreshment.¹ Such prayers are natural, and may be quite unobjectionable ; but they easily lead, if attempts are made to explain them, to some idea of purgatory though not necessarily so crude as the mediaeval one. Imperfect Christians, it is said, need purification ; this necessarily involves suffering. So prayers are offered for the progressing of the purification. But this idea of purification with consequent suffering in the Intermediate State, is simply drawn from our ideas of the fitness of things, without any true support in Scripture. And it has its difficulties (e.g. what will happen at the Lord's return, to those living or only lately dead ? will their purification be accelerated ?). Further, it is hard to see what difference our prayers can make. So far as Scripture throws any light on the Intermediate State, it speaks of peace, joy and blessing for the faithful departed ; and there is no good precedent in the early Church for praying for any others.

This clause of the Creed has also been taken as referring to our communion with the saints in the narrower sense of the word, so as to justify us in asking *their* prayers. But we have no knowledge whatever that they can really hear our prayers, or indeed that they know us at all individually. And such prayers seem to involve serious risk of putting God Himself further away from us, and of obscuring the glory of Christ as the One Mediator.

(On this clause, see Gibson, *Creed*, Note C ; Swete,

¹ In the Burial Service we pray for the coming of God's Kingdom, which will prove a blessing for the departed as well as for ourselves.

Apostles' Creed ; Vaughan, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* ; and on Prayers for the Dead, Gayford, *Life after Death*, on one side ; and C. H. Wright, *Intermediate State*, on the other.)

ARTICLE X

"THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS"

"I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins."

OUR definition of Sin will vary according as it is regarded subjectively or objectively. Subjectively, a sin is "an activity of the will, expressed in thought, word or deed, contrary to the individual's conscience, to his notion of what is good and right, his knowledge of the moral law or the will of God."¹ Regarded thus, sin necessarily involves consciousness of sinning; and it varies in greatness according to the degree of light possessed by the sinner. But we may also judge sin objectively, as something contrary not necessarily to the individual's own consciousness of right, but to the general moral conscience of Christians, or to the law or mind of God. Thus regarded, the consciousness of the agent makes no difference to the greatness of the sin. Both aspects must be recognized, though the former is the more important; cf. Rom. v. 13, "for until the Law sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed where there is no law." The guilt of a sin varies with the extent of consciousness of its sinfulness, together with the degree in which past or present sin has contributed to lessen this consciousness. But a conscience subsequently enlightened will recognize past offences or failures as sins, though they were not at

¹ Tennant, *Origin and Propagation of Sin*, p. 160.

the time regarded as such.¹ Cf. 1 Timothy i. 12-15; also 1 Corinthians iv. 4.

Sin is expressed in Scripture by various terms according to different aspects. The most common, ἁμαρτία and ἁμαρτία, have as their primary meaning "to miss one's mark or aim"; they regard sin as *failure*; the sinner falls short of his duty or of the standard set before him. Stronger terms are ἁμαρτία, παράβασις, rebellion, transgression, disobedience to a definite law, breach of covenant; while perhaps the fundamental idea of Scripture is expressed by ἀνομία, violation of Law, 1 John iii. 4. Other terms are παράπτωμα, lapse; ἀσέβεια, impiety, disregard or defiance of God; ἀδικία, wrong against a neighbour; παρακοή, disobedience. (See Trench, *Synonyms of New Testament*, § 66; Bernard (E. R.) art. "Sin" in *Hastings' D.B.*, iv. 532; Eck, *Sin*, 77.)

The existence of moral evil in the universe has often been thought to contradict either the goodness or the omnipotence of God. The solution seems to lie in the fact that God has been pleased of His goodness to create free moral beings. But freedom to choose and to do right involves the possibility of choosing and doing wrong; otherwise this freedom is merely apparent. Thus God is indeed responsible for the possibility of moral evil, involved in His good gift of freedom; but responsibility for the actuality of moral evil rests with man. God's power and goodness are then only to be impugned on the supposition that irrational and non-moral beings are higher and better than rational and moral ones; that in fact the highest brute is nobler than the hero or saint.

There is in mankind a natural tendency to evil; "an

¹ But cf. Tennant in *Expositor*, May-Aug., 1909. He argues for the use of the term "sin" only in the subjective sense, using "imperfection" or the like for the other.

all-pervading taint of moral evil in the heart and life of man.”¹ There is not only much ignorance of what is right, but also a conflict between the mind which recognizes the law of God and the flesh which serves the law of sin (Rom. vii. 25, etc.). Evil is easier to us than good. This is not only taught in Scripture, and maintained by theologians ; it has been recognized by most deep thinkers.² The doctrine of Original Sin accounts for this, following Romans v. 12-16, by tracing it back to the Fall of the first representative man. He, created innocent, without any such taint, fell into sin, which infected his nature. All his descendants inherit this sinful nature; or tendency, which is called Original or Birth Sin. But we must not exaggerate the extent of this “ depravity ” or perversion, so as to forget that man is still in the image of God, or to deny individual freedom and responsibility. Nor must we go beyond our developed sense of justice in insisting on its guilt in the individual. It is only in a forced sense that we can be regarded as guilty of Adam’s sin, though we share its consequences. This corrupt nature is objectively sinful ; but we can hardly be held individually responsible for it.

This doctrine is not really inconsistent with the theory of evolution. If man has indeed developed from lower types of being, he nevertheless differs essentially from them in mind and spirit. There must have been some beginning of this moral consciousness ; some first sense of choice between good and evil. This choice was essential to man’s intellectual development, but his spiritual development depended upon its being the right choice. Genesis iii. describes a moral fall, but an intellectual rise.

¹ Tennant, *u.s.* p. 8.

² Cf. Mozley, *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, ix. and x.

(See Sanday—Headlam, *Romans*, p. 143 f. ; J. H. Bernard in Hastings' *D.B.* i. p. 841 f., article " Fall " ; also Gibson, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, Art. IX.)

Another view, however, assuming evolution, regards this sinful tendency as consisting in the persistence and self-assertion of inherited animal tendencies, in themselves non-moral, when moral sense or conscience calls for their repression or control. This accounts for the universality of sinfulness, without assuming a Fall from a better condition. It accepts equally with other views the solidarity of the human race, the universality of sin and the need of redemption.

(Tennant, *Origin and Propagation of Sin*.)

Actual Sin is partly traceable to Original Sin. But heredity must not be regarded as a justification for sin, any more than environment. Both of them suggest sins and make their commission easier ; but they do not make us unable to resist. Sin is wider than Crime, which includes simply what organized society regards as tangible and serious offences against itself. Sin includes all neglect of God's will and purpose, as well as all opposition to it ; it includes sins directly against God, as well as any against our neighbours or ourselves. But to fail in any of the duties which God has set before us is ultimately a sin against *Him*. There are sins of omission, as well as of commission¹ (James iv. 17) ; sins of thought as well as of word and deed. The Gospel extends the sense of sin by its spiritual interpretation of the Law (Matt. v.) ; by making the qualification for membership of the Kingdom to be character rather than definite acts or abstentions ; and by the revelation in Christ of a perfect standard of life. Sin in all its forms may be summed up as self-

¹ Cf. the " General Confession " in the Prayer Book.

assertion against God, and His Law (*ἀνομία*), or as failure to realize the standard God has set before us, or His aim in creating us (*ἁμαρτία*) ; cf. Romans iii. 23, " all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God."

Any distinction between venial and mortal sins recognizes the fact that some sins are worse than others ; but it easily leads (*a*) to make light of the smaller sins, or to ignore the seriousness of habitual indulgence in them, and (*b*) to neglect the great difference made by the degree of light against which the sin is committed. The " Seven Deadly Sins " of the Mediæval list are Pride, Envy, Anger, Avarice, Gluttony, Lust and Spiritual Depression or Sloth.¹ These seem somewhat arbitrarily selected ; they are best regarded as root-sins from which nearly all others proceed.²

Forgiveness of Sins is with God, as with ourselves, not merely taking no notice of them, passing them by (*πάρεσις*, Rom. iii. 25) ; but doing this consciously and graciously, restoring to favour or fellowship. It does not necessarily involve removing all the consequences of sin ; chastisement may be needed or suffering be inevitable ; this should be accepted willingly. But it does mean restoration to God's favour. On man's part, repentance is needed ; this includes determination to forsake sin as well as acknowledgment and regret ; amendment for the future, as well as sorrow for the past.

God is set forth early in the Old Testament as " forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin " (Exod. xxxiv. 7). This comes out clearly as revelation advances. Amidst the deep penitence of Psalm li. we see the hopeful assurance of repentance and renewal. The prophets call to national and individual repentance, declaring God's

¹ It is difficult to translate " accidia." ² Cf. Eck, *Sin*, 117.

readiness to forgive. The efficacy of repentance is one great lesson of the book of Jonah. Our Lord emphasized God's willingness to forgive (e.g. Luke xv.). He claimed to have Himself the power to forgive sins (Mark ii. 5-10), and left the forgiveness of sins in His Name as the great message of His Church (Luke xxiv. 47). The Apostles declare that this forgiveness is secured by His Death, and received by all who believe in Him. (Acts x. 43, xiii. 38; Rom. iii. 24; Eph. i. 7; Col. i. 14; 1 John ii. 12).

The Nicene Creed connects Forgiveness with Baptism. John the Baptist preached the “ baptism of repentance unto remission of sins.” It was a token of repentance, signifying cleansing from an evil past. Christian Baptism has a twofold meaning, cleansing from the past, and new life for the future—(“ Spirit ” as well as “ water.”) The connexion between this baptism and forgiveness appears, Acts ii. 38, “ Repent and be baptized . . . in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins ” ; xxii. 16, “ Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins.” Forgiveness is through Christ; Baptism in His Name signifies acceptance of Him as Saviour, and brings us into union with Him. So we put Him on through Baptism (Gal. iii. 27) and have in Him forgiveness and life. In Baptism “ the promises of forgiveness and adoption are visibly signed and sealed ” ; i.e. they are settled upon, or made over to, the person baptized; he is assured that they are for him individually; he claims and accepts them. It is the outward sign of this inward spiritual grace, bestowed on all who receive it rightly. The mention of *One Baptism* distinguishes Christian Baptism from other similar rites, and points to it constituting a bond of union among Christians.

The assurance given in Baptism of God's forgiveness

upon repentance and faith holds good throughout our lives. There was in the fourth century a widespread idea that while Baptism gave complete remission of all past sins, it was much harder to secure forgiveness for sins subsequently committed. This idea recognized that sins committed against light and in a Christian environment are worse than sins committed in heathen ignorance. But it led many to put off Baptism as long as possible, that they might not have to live so strict a life, or might be sure of forgiveness at the last. But in fact Baptism is a pledge of future forgiveness, as well as past, if the forgiveness is ever rightly sought, in true repentance and faith. It unites to Christ, Whose blood cleanses from all sin.

Much is said in the First Epistle of St. John about the sins of professing Christians. "Nowhere is the reality of sin more strongly insisted on as occurring in the Christian life, and nowhere is the sinlessness of the Christian more distinctly asserted."¹ To deny the existence of sin in us is to deceive ourselves (i. 8); we are invited to confess our sins, trusting God to forgive and cleanse. The epistle is written to keep its readers from sinning; "but if any sin we have an Advocate Who is also the Propitiation for our sins" (ii. 1-2). But on the other hand he who is begotten of God, he who abides in God, cannot sin (iii. 6-9, etc.). Of this paradox there are two solutions. (a) There is complete moral inconsistency in a Christian sinning; in so far as he abides in God, he does not sin; in sinning he is false to his own position. (b) There is a distinction between isolated acts and an habitual state. Not sin, but opposition to sin, is the ruling principle of a Christian's life. He may fall into sin, but he

¹ Bernard, Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 535.

does not live in it. In this connexion it is noteworthy that in the Lord's Prayer forgiveness appears equally needed and equally obtainable as daily bread.

Several passages may be taken to speak of a sin not admitting of forgiveness :—

(a) 1 John v. 16-17, “a sin unto death.” This is the starting point of distinctions between venial and mortal sins. It probably means some sin recognized as specially grievous, which has death as its natural, though not inevitable, consequence. St. John cannot give any assurance of pardon and restoration in answer to prayer in the case of such a sin; but says nothing against the possibility of forgiveness upon true repentance.

(b) Hebrews vi. 4-6. “Those who were once enlightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift . . . and then fell away, it is impossible to renew them unto repentance.” So x. 26, “If we sin wilfully after receiving the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin.” Here the sin mainly in view is clearly apostasy—deliberate and persistent denial of Christ, in the face of personal experience and knowledge.¹ This puts outside the sphere of Christian influence and blessing. But it is repentance that is spoken of as impossible, not forgiveness should true repentance come.

(c) Mark iii. 28-29, parallels. “Whosoever shall sin against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin.” This was a warning to the scribes, who attributed Our Lord's words of healing to the help of Beelzebub. This was to call good evil; which naturally springs from loving darkness rather than light. Thus this sin is probably so to persist in sinning against light and knowledge that the voice of the Holy Spirit is

¹ Cf Swete, *Holy Spirit in N.T.*, p. 250.

silenced, and the man becomes dead to all distinction between good and evil.

It must be recognized that so long as a man has any sorrow for sin, or wish to turn to God, the Spirit is still striving with him, and there is yet a possibility of true repentance and forgiveness.

(See commentaries on above passages; articles in *Dict. C.G.* "Blasphemy," "Eternal Sin," "Unpardonable Sin"; Bernard, art. "Sin" in Hastings' *D.B.*; Eck, *Sin*, Part II, ch. iii.-v.)

The Church is entrusted with the ministry of reconciliation. Our Lord gave this assurance and commission at His first appearance to the Church after His Resurrection. "Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them" (John xx. 23). These words "are not to be regarded as addressed only to the Apostles or the clergy, but as a commission to the whole Church, and as conveying a summary of the message with which it is charged." The Church as a whole discharges this commission "by the ministration of God's Word and Sacraments, and by godly discipline."¹ There is no exclusive or main reference in these words to any special ministerial act of absolution. The obvious meaning of the formularies of the Church of England is that private confession and absolution is not regarded as normal; it is to be used only if the penitent cannot quiet his own conscience, but requires further comfort or counsel. In any case ministerial absolution can only convey or bring home the forgiveness of God, against whom the penitent has sinned, and this is conditional on true repentance. "I absolve thee"

¹ *Report of Fulham Conference on Confession and Absolution*, p. 109. See the whole Report for a thorough discussion as to the place of private confession and absolution.

really amounts to nothing else than “ I pronounce thee absolved or forgiven by God,” Who has “ given power and commandment to His ministers to declare and pronounce to His people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins.” But the commission of John xx. goes far beyond this one method. “ It gives effect to every Sacrament, to every sermon that reaches men’s hearts, to the whole service which the Church in her manifold operations renders to sinful humanity ; from the formal absolution of the ordained priesthood to the simplest words spoken with conviction by the peasant or the child in the Name of Jesus Christ.” ¹

(On this Article see Eck, *Sin*, Oxford Libr. of Practical Theology ; E. R. Bernard, art. “ Sin ” in Hastings’ *D.B.*)

¹ Swete, *Appearances of Our Lord*, p. 38.

ARTICLE XI

RESURRECTION

“The Resurrection of the Body (Latin “*Carnis Resurrectionem*” ; so in Creed of Baptismal Service “the resurrection of the flesh”).

“I look for the Resurrection of the dead.”

“At Whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies.”

PRIMITIVE thought does not seem generally to suppose that death is the end of all existence ; it holds that the spirit lives on in some other world or is born again into this. The old Greek idea was that the dead had a shadowy existence, hardly to be called life, in the underworld.¹ The primitive Babylonian idea seems much the same ; so also the primitive Hebrew. Death was regarded not as the absolute end of all existence, but as the end of all that made life worth living. It involved even separation from God. “In death there is no remembrance of Thee ; in Sheol who will give Thee thanks ? ” (Ps. vi. 5) ; “Sheol cannot praise Thee, death cannot celebrate Thee ; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for Thy truth ” (Isa. xxxviii. 18).

But gradually the future life was more clearly revealed and realized. Psalmists felt that their fellowship with God was too strong for even death to break, they would still be with Him (Ps. xvi., xvii., xlix., lxxiii.). Job rises to

¹ See Homer, *Odyssey*, xi.

the thought of seeing God and being vindicated after death (xix. 25 f.). In the prophets we get the doctrine of Resurrection, national or individual (Isa. xxvi. 19, Ez. xxxvii. 12, and especially Dan. xii. 2-3).

We find resurrection and future life firmly held in some of the apocryphal books. "Wisdom" is strong on the immortality of the soul, and on future reward and punishment (e.g. chs. iii., v.). "Enoch" (earliest parts, century ii. B.C.) is clear on the Resurrection; so is 2 Maccabees, e.g. vii. 9, "the King of the world shall raise us up who have died for His laws, unto an eternal reward of life"; and the "Psalms of Solomon" (about 60 B.C.) e.g. iii. 16, "They that fear the Lord shall rise again to eternal life, and their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and it shall fail no more."¹ In Our Lord's time we find the Resurrection an accepted doctrine; only the Sadducees denied it (Mark xii. 18, Acts xxiii. 8). It pervades the Targums or Aramaic versions (or paraphrases) of the Old Testament.* As in the New Testament, it is the Resurrection of the righteous that is almost exclusively in view. But the Lord established, not only by His teaching but by His own resurrection, what had previously been very uncertain among the Gentiles, and disputed and imperfectly established even among the Jews. He "abolished death and brought life and immortality to light" (2 Tim. i. 10). He declared, in opposition to the Sadducees, that God is not the God of the dead but of the living; pointing to the relation between God and His people as guaranteeing their continued and complete life (Mark xii. 18 f.). He foretold the general resurrection (John v. 28-29). "All

¹ See Fairweather, Hastings' *D.B.* Extra Vol., art. "Development of Doctrine."

² See Driver, *Sermons on Subjects connected with O.T.*, p. 85 f.

that are in the graves shall hear His voice and shall come forth ; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life ; and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment.”¹ And His own Resurrection showed both the possibility and the nature of the Resurrection of His people. It differed from previous resurrections by not being a mere restoration to earthly life, but a resurrection to a new order of life, with a glorified spiritual body. Hence the Apostles saw in His resurrection the firstfruits of the resurrection of the dead ; thus arousing the opposition of the Sadducees (Acts iv. 2, xxiii. 6).

The fullest statements of the future resurrection come from St. Paul. In 1 Thessalonians iv. 15-18, speaking of the Lord's coming, he says, “ the dead in Christ shall rise first ” ; then those still living will be caught up with them to meet the Lord, and to be for ever with Him. In 2 Corinthians v. 1-4 he speaks of the resurrection body which he would fain put on over his present earthly one, without having first to put off the latter by death. This passage is often taken to mean that he had come to expect to receive his glorified body immediately after death, not “ at the resurrection at the last day.” This explanation would solve the problem of the “ intermediate state ” ; it fits in with the view that both the Lord's Return and the Judgment are to be spiritualized and not to be expected as literal and visible future events. But it seems quite inconsistent with 1 Corinthians xv., the clearer passage of the two, written to the same Church only a few months before ; and it is more probable that, as usual, his thoughts pass over the possible interval between his death and the Lord's Return.

¹ This verse, along with Matthew xxv. 46, is the basis of the final clauses of the Athanasian Creed partly quoted above, p. 164.

But his great contribution to this subject is 1 Corinthians xv. He begins by reminding of the manifold witness to the Lord's Resurrection. This is an essential part of the Christian religion, which stands or falls with it. And there is an intimate connexion between His Resurrection and ours. It proves the possibility of man's resurrection; one single authentic instance is quite enough to break down any universal negative. And as He is the Head of mankind, His Resurrection is the pledge of ours. He is risen as the firstfruits of them that are asleep.

But the question arises as to the nature of the resurrection body. "How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?" The answer is to the effect that it will not be essentially a restoration of the present one, but something higher. The relation between it and the present body is that of the plant to the seed; springing from it, but much nobler than a mere reproduction of it. All "bodies" are not necessarily of precisely the same nature as our earthly bodies; we may not so limit God's wisdom and power. Even now there is more than one kind of "flesh" or "body." So the resurrection body, though truly a body, will surpass the present one; it will be a "spiritual body," wholly at the disposal of the spirit, taking the place of the present "natural body," the seat of animal life. So the bodies of those who survive till the Lord's coming must and will be transformed. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God. . . . We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed." So we read in Philippians iii. 20-21 that the Lord's Resurrection body will be the pattern of our own; cf. also 1 Corinthians xv. 49, "we shall also bear the image of the heavenly (man)"; 1 John iii. 2, "we shall be like Him." This resemblance is indeed mainly one of spirit, but it seems

to include also likeness of bodily nature. We see from the Gospel narrative that while His identity was preserved, yet His body possessed new powers and was moved just as He willed, perhaps accommodating itself to the needs of the disciples. It, too, was "sown a natural body, raised a spiritual body."

St. Paul here guards us against two prevalent mistakes about the future life. The first is to ignore the resurrection of the body, laying stress only upon the immortality of the soul. This was a Greek philosophical view; Plato, while maintaining the immortality of the soul, regarded the body as its impediment and prison; Photinus thanked God that he was not bound to an immortal body. So the Gnostics, who regarded matter as in itself evil, could not accept bodily resurrection. Some of them, while using the term "Resurrection," explained it away as meaning "conversion" or "enlightenment"; so probably Hymenæus and Philetus, 2 Timothy ii. 17-18. This was common among the Docetists of the second and third centuries, who laid stress on St. Paul's words, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God," apart from their context. This reduction of resurrection to the immortality of the soul is not uncommon now; this immortality is easier to realize; it forms part of "natural religion" apart from any special revelation, and avoids popular material conceptions. But Resurrection in Scripture is clearly not simply the survival of the soul, but the future raising up of the body. The whole man is to be saved in Christ, Who sanctified our body by taking it. It is only through some kind of body that the spirit of man can fully operate. Thus we look for "our perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul," in God's eternal kingdom.]]

It was probably to exclude the above Gnostic idea that the early Church adopted the phrase "Resurrection of the flesh." (In the Creed of Aquileia it was still stronger, "resurrection of *this* flesh"; so in the Mozarabic Liturgy.) This phrase is indeed non-Scriptural; the Bible phrases are "resurrection of the dead" or "from the dead." "Resurrection of the body" is mentioned Romans viii. 11, 1 Corinthians xv. 44; but not "Resurrection of the flesh." But we have here a non-Scriptural expression introduced to guard a Scripture truth, as ὁμοούσιος was at a later date. The change to "body" in our ordinary English translation may have been intended to bring the phrase closer to Scripture.

But this expression in the Creed lent itself to error on the other side. It favoured the material idea that the very identical flesh, bones and blood that were buried would be raised again. This was the view taken by the Pharisees; it was shared by a number of Fathers, Origen being an exception.¹ It has been common to conceive the Resurrection precisely on the lines of Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones reviving. But it is clear that the same material particles may have belonged to a succession of human bodies, and so be as rightly claimed by one as by another. The Resurrection is not bound up with such a restoration of identical particles; all that is required is the preservation of personal identity. And this does not even now depend on the identity of material particles, which are constantly changing in our bodies.

This is but one instance of a danger constantly meeting us in thinking of the future life. We are likely to take too material a view of it; to regard that life as very much a

¹ See Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, 94. Origen's view is expressed *De Principiis*, II. x.; *Contra Celsum*, v. 18 f.; *Psalm* i. 5.

reproduction of the present, with a few necessary modifications. But we must not take too literally the pictures drawn by prophets, whether of the Old Testament or of the New Testament. We must remember St. Paul's teaching that the plant which springs from the buried seed is not that seed itself reappearing. Especially we must consider our Lord's answer to the Sadducees, who taking a most material view of the Resurrection, thought themselves justified in rejecting it. He declared in reply that the future life would not be lived under earthly and material conditions. "They that are accounted worthy to attain to that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage; for neither can they die any more; for they are equal with the angels, and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection" (Luke xx. 35-36). Most of the difficulties which present themselves when we try to think out the future life in detail spring from our inability to conceive it except as closely akin to this present life. This applies even to the Biblical writers. We must remember the wisdom of God, as well as His power; and must also recognize the limits of our own comprehension. As in many other doctrines, scientific as well as theological, we soon get beyond what is comprehensible to what is shrouded in mystery. But just as such difficulties and obscurities are not fatal to science, neither are they to theology, much less to religion.

We read sometimes simply of the resurrection of the dead (*ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν*); sometimes specially of the resurrection to life (*ἀνάστασις ζωῆς*, John v. 24) or the resurrection *from* the dead (*ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν*, Luke xx. 35, Acts iv. 2; or St. Paul's hope, *ἐξανάστασις ἢ ἐκ νεκρῶν*, Phil. iii. 11). These phrases, apparently used

only of a joyful resurrection, might well imply that the ungodly dead are not raised. But their resurrection is declared, John v. 28-29, Acts xxiv. 15, though nowhere definitely in the Epistles. The point of 1 Corinthians xv. 22—"as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive," is disputed. If the word "all" is to be taken in both clauses in its fullest sense, the reference of the latter is to the General Resurrection rather than to Universal Restoration. But it is more in accordance with other passages to make the second "all" refer only to those in union with Christ, as the first does to those connected with Adam. St. Paul seems to be speaking, throughout the passage, of Christians only.¹ Elsewhere Resurrection is sometimes made to depend on union with Christ; e.g., John vi. 54, "he that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day." (So the words of Administration of Holy Communion, "the body of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." John vi. expresses in words the same truth which the Sacrament expresses in act,² that we have life through Christ by receiving Him into our heart and soul.) So again in Romans viii. 11, Resurrection is spoken of as due to the presence and operation of the Holy Spirit. In these passages the Resurrection to life is alone in view. Jewish thought appears to have hesitated whether the ungodly were raised for judgment, or left in Sheol. Apart from John v. 28-29, Acts xxiv. 15, the latter view is compatible with New Testament language. But these two passages seem conclusive; there is no textual evidence for the former being an inter-

¹ Salmond, *Immortality*, 424-427; Kennedy, *Last Things*, 310; Milligan, *Resurrection*, 45 f. ² Vaughan, *Confirmation*, p. 64.

polation, and St. Luke must have known St. Paul's thought sufficiently to have avoided putting into his mouth a doctrine which he did not hold. Other passages ignore the resurrection of the ungodly, but do not exclude it.

Some regard the Resurrection to life and the General Resurrection as separated by a considerable interval. But apart from Revelation xx., which is, of course, like the rest of this Book, hard to interpret and unsafe to take too literally, this is nowhere taught. It is not implied in 1 Thessalonians iv. 16, where "first" does not mean "before the other dead rise," but "before the living meet the Lord." It is however held by many commentators as implied in 1 Corinthians xv. 23, "Every man in his own order; Christ the firstfruits, afterwards they that are Christ's, at His coming; then cometh the end." But this interpretation is quite uncertain.¹ John v. 28-29 seems to imply simultaneous resurrection.

(On this article see commentaries on Scripture passages mentioned; Swete, *Apostles' Creed*; Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*; Milligan, *The Resurrection of the Dead*; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things*; E. R. Bernard, art. "Resurrection" in Hastings' *D.B.*; Walpole, *Gains and Losses*.)

¹ Cf. Milligan, *u.s.*, 64 f.; Kennedy, *u.s.*, 322.

ARTICLE XII

ETERNAL LIFE

“The Life Everlasting.”

“The Life of the world to come.”

“They that have done good shall go into life everlasting ; and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.”

THIS Article is closely joined with the foregoing, and, but for desire to make up the number “Twelve,” might well have been reckoned with it. It is quite as closely connected with it as “The Communion of Saints” is with “The Holy Catholic Church.” It forms one of the later elements in the Apostles’ Creed.

“Eternal life” is one of the most constant and repeated promises of the New Testament. In almost every book it is set before us as a promise, hope, or aim. But it is especially characteristic of St. John’s writings, where, moreover, it is spoken of as not only future, but present ; e.g. 1 John ii. 25, “This is the promise which He promised us, even eternal life” ; v. 11, “God gave unto us eternal life.”

Eternal life—ζωὴ αἰώνιος—means a great deal more than mere endless existence, “living for ever and ever,” which would in itself be a doubtful boon. “Life” means in Scripture more than simple existence. In the Old Testament “Life” frequently means “a happy life and every kind of blessing”¹ ; “earthly felicity com-

¹ Grimm-Thayer, s.v. ζωή.

bined with spiritual blessedness.”¹ So in Deuteronomy xxx. 15-19 “life,” “good,” and “blessing” are synonymous, as on the other side are “death,” “evil,” “curse.” The desirable things of earth are the signs of God’s favour; all good is associated with Him. “That God Himself is the Life of man and nation, that apart from Him there is no good, that happiness is to be found only in His nearness, is the teaching at once of Law-book, Psalm and Proverb.”² So in the New Testament “life” is constantly spoken of in a spiritual sense, setting forth the blessedness of the creature in communion with God. So “death” means “the loss of that life which alone is worthy of the name; the misery of soul arising from sin, which begins on earth, but lasts and increases after the death of the body.”³

The word *αἰώνιος* is rendered in the Authorized Version sometimes “eternal,” sometimes “everlasting”; cf. John iii. 15-16, where the same Greek word occurs in both verses. But “everlasting,” while not an incorrect rendering, lays too much stress on mere duration; “eternal,” like *αἰώνιος* itself, expresses this and something more. Hence the Revised Version has always “eternal.” The general idea of *αἰώνιος* is “permanent,” “enduring,” opposed to what is temporary or transitory. In 2 Corinthians iv. 18 it is opposed to *πρόσκαιρος*, “temporal”; in Philemon 15 to “for a season.” It is derived from *αἰών* “age,” which is itself probably connected with *ἀεί*, “always.” It might according to its derivation be rendered “age-long,” but not as suggesting

¹ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Heb. Lexicon*, s.v. עוֹלָם

² Salmond, *Immortality*, 182.

³ Grimm-Thayer, s.v. θάνατος.

that this age must give place to another.¹ It must be considered along with the common phrase εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, "for ever"; e.g. in John vi. 47-54 the same truth is expressed by "have eternal life," "not die," and "live for ever." Such phrases are indeed sometimes used when literal eternity is out of the question; but such cases are either poetic (e.g. "the eternal hills") or mean as long as in the nature of the case can possibly be, e.g. for a man's whole lifetime (Exod. xxi. 6, etc.). The words αἰών and עוֹלָם have essentially the idea of long and indefinite duration, continuous existence. This is the case also with αἰώνιος. But since this word is constantly used of future spiritual blessedness, belonging to the "age to come," it has also gained a qualitative meaning, especially in St. John's writings. The idea of duration, though never lost, sometimes falls into the background, and the term includes the idea of "spiritual" or "essential." But this is not its primary or main meaning. (See Oxford Hebrew Lexicon—Brown, Driver and Briggs—s.v. עוֹלָם; Grimm-Thayer, s.v. αἰών, αἰώνιος; Salmond, *u.s.* pp. 516-520; Kennedy, *Last Things*, p. 125.)

This life is commonly referred to the future—"the life of the world (αἰών, = 'age') to come." This will be fullest and most perfect life; one of full communion with God, perfect happiness and holiness. We cannot really picture this life at all clearly; the current picturings of it seem very inadequate and often misleading. The Book of "Revelation" gives us some features of it, but largely in figure and emblem. "His servants shall do Him service, and they shall see His face, and His name

¹ Dr. Weymouth's regular rendering of ζωὴ αἰώνιος is "the life of the ages"; that of the *Twentieth Century N.T.* is "enduring life."

shall be on their foreheads" (xxii. 3-4). They will be free from all to hurt or weigh down body or soul; will enjoy the fulness of God's presence and render to Him perfect service in worship and in action, like the angels, and they will live in fit surroundings—the "new heaven and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."

But St. John tells us that this eternal life is entered upon *now*; all those who believe in Christ *have* eternal life (1 John v. 13; cf. John v. 24, "is passed from death unto life"). The great verse for this is John xvii. 3—to know the only true God and Jesus Christ is life eternal. This may mean that this experiential knowledge *constitutes* eternal life, or that it defines its *essence*, or that it *produces* it, is the means or condition of it. But even in this last case this life is something present, not merely future. Thus like "the kingdom of heaven," eternal life is sometimes spoken of in its present beginnings and sometimes in its future completeness. But the future grows from the present; we must have the beginnings now, must now love God, abide in Him, live according to His mind and be guided by His Spirit. These are signs and conditions of eternal life; and its beginnings are the earnest of its fulness. Cf. Romans viii. 23, 2 Corinthians v. 5.

But there is an alternative to Eternal Life. The opposite phrase "Eternal (everlasting) Death" is not indeed precisely found in Scripture, though it occurs in the Prayer Book.¹ But we find there "Death" spoken of as the antithesis to "Eternal Life," e.g. Romans vi. 23, "the wages of sin is death"; and the epithet "eternal" (or "everlasting," αἰώνιος) is found in phrases of like

¹ In Catechism, "I desire . . ." Burial Service, "Man that is born of a woman . . ."

meaning; "eternal fire," Matthew xxv. 41, "eternal punishment," xxv. 46, both as the opposite to "eternal life"; "eternal destruction," 2 Thessalonians i. 9. The first of these is echoed in the Athanasian Creed, where the phrase obviously means nothing more than it means in the Gospel, and cannot fairly be objected to in the one place by those who admit it in the other.¹ It is obviously figurative in both places.

Warnings against incurring this alternative had till lately a prominent place in religious teaching. Now, however, there is a strong tendency to leave this side out of sight altogether.² This is largely due to a deeper sense of God's Fatherhood; His goodness and mercy are now emphasized rather than His sovereignty. But it seems also due to a weakened sense of sin, and to a conception of God's mercy as mere easy-going tolerance. As in other directions, there seems to be here an excessive reaction against the severity of the past.² Sentimentality is running riot nowadays. Formerly the thought of future retribution held too prominent a place, and the ideas of it were too material (e.g. insistence upon literal "fire"). Now, in reaction from this, people are inclined to ignore it altogether, or at least to make very little of it. But the righteousness of God requires future retribution upon the wicked. He cannot favour all alike, good and wicked equally. Fear has its place in the Gospel, as well as love.

Three main views are held as to the final destiny of the ungodly.

One is "Universal Restoration"—that all will finally be saved, though the ungodly who die impenitent will first

¹ Cf. Mozley, *Lectures and other Theol. Papers*, p. 221.

² Cf. Bethune Baker, *The Old Faith and the New Learning*, 48 ff.

have a period more or less long of reformatory suffering. This view goes back to some of the Greek Fathers, e.g. Origen and Gregory of Nyssa. It was held by some at the time of the Reformation, and condemned by Article XLII of 1552—"They also are counted worthy of condemnation, who endeavour at this time to restore the dangerous opinion that all men, be they never so ungodly, shall at length be saved, when they have suffered pains for their sins a certain time appointed by God's justice." This article was omitted in 1563, along with others dealing with the "last things."¹ This view of the final destiny of all is attractive, and seems to be gaining ground. But the Scripture evidence for it is weak; the general line of New Testament teaching, especially that of our Lord's parables, is that the decisions of this life are final. Verses thought to point the other way are inconclusive. In Matthew v. 25-26 ("till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing") there is a warning to be wise in time, while favourable terms are possible; if this opportunity is let slip, nothing remains but strictest judgment. In Luke xii. 47-48 the "many stripes" and "few stripes" point to varying *degrees* rather than to varying but limited *duration*. In Matthew xii. 31-32 it is not at all necessarily implied that sins other than that against the Holy Ghost might be forgiven in the world to come, after enduring a certain penalty there. The words are rather connected with the Jewish teaching that some sins could be atoned for in this life, while for others death was the only atonement. Again such verses as "that God may be all in all" (1 Cor: xv. 28), or "God's purpose is through Christ to reconcile all things to Himself" (Col. i. 20), may indeed be thought to point to this solution,

¹ Including one condemning belief in the Millennium.

but cannot be said to prove it, as it is not clear that the apostle had this matter in his mind at all.

A much stronger argument is that drawn from our knowledge of the character of God, Whose mercy is over all His works. To convert the rebellious would be a greater triumph than to be ever crushing their rebellion.

The objections to this view are (a) its alleged morally dangerous tendency. It can certainly be so stated as to avoid this, by laying stress on the loss and suffering involved previous to restoration ; but it lends itself easily to the encouragement of a careless life. (b) The weakness of Scripture proof ; see above. (c) Its failure to recognize the power of man's free will to resist God. Universal irresistible grace forms no part of God's plan now ; why should it do so hereafter ? (d) The absence of proof that the conditions of the after-life will be more favourable to good than those of the present.

The second main view is that of Annihilation ; that the ungodly will finally cease to exist, both soul and body perishing. This is usually but not necessarily combined with the doctrine of "Conditional Immortality"—i.e. that the soul is not naturally immortal, but that immortality is given to it only by the grace of God, through the life of Christ imparted to us. Death is ultimately the portion of the ungodly who have rejected this life. The soul does indeed survive the death of the body ; but, unless it shares this gift of immortality, it will ultimately pass away.

This view is strong where Universalism is weak, and vice versa. Universalism is attractive in itself, but weak in Scripture proof, and fairly open to the charge of being a morally dangerous doctrine. Annihilation is not an attractive view, but it is much less open to the charge

of moral danger ; it maintains, not the extinction of the evil soul at the death of the body, but its punishment ending in extinction. It is supported by many Scripture passages about " life " and " death," if these are taken absolutely literally, and if " death " or " destruction " is interpreted to mean annihilation, absolute end of all existence.

The objections to this view are (a) " Life " without doubt often means in Scripture not mere existence, but happiness ; so " death " may naturally mean not cessation of existence, but loss of all that makes life worth living. So " destruction " (*ἀπώλεια*) is constantly opposed to " salvation " ¹ ; it is equivalent to " ruin " rather than to " annihilation." Thus the argument from Scripture is not nearly so strong as it appears at first. (b) If the soul can survive the death of the body, must it not be naturally immortal ?

There are intermediate views between the two above and that of " Eternal Punishment." Some would confine Eternal Punishment to a comparatively small number, believing in the ultimate restoration of many though not of all. Others believing in a similarly extensive restoration, would reserve annihilation for the obstinately impenitent.

The view which was formerly almost universally held is that the punishment of unrepented sin here is eternal or everlasting. This is founded on the many passages of Scripture which speak of the abiding consequences of a sinful life. Our present life is regarded as one of probation, of training and formation of character ; its results are regarded as final. Some of the sternest of these warnings come from Our Lord's own teaching.

¹ Kennedy, *u.s.* p. 122.

The main objections to this view are: (a) To keep up punishment eternally seems opposed to the sovereignty as well as the mercy of God. In answer to this it must be allowed either that this punishment may be reduced to eternal privation of certain blessings, or else it must involve eternal impenitence. We cannot deny the possibility of such impenitence, and while it continues there is no room for God's mercy to operate. (b) Many seem never to have had proper opportunities in this life; are they to be condemned for what is not their fault? In answer it must be said that the relevant passages of Scripture refer almost entirely to those who have rejected their opportunity. Many, without holding universal restoration, or even the restoration of any after the Judgment, believe that those at least who have not had an equal chance here—e.g. the heathen—will have it in the Intermediate State; all of them will be brought into conscious relation to Christ, so as to accept or reject Him. This idea is attractive, though wanting in positive evidence. But certainly the Judge of all the earth must do right; and justice cannot with Him be something different in kind from what we recognize as justice. He knows and allows for unavoidable ignorance or prejudice, and for lack of opportunity. The Judgment will take all this into account: cf. Romans ii. 14-16. If Matthew xxv. 31 f. applies, as it well may, to the heathen, the Lord will judge them by the moral law of love. In any case none will be condemned for what is his misfortune, not his fault. (c) There are great differences among ungodly and careless people; in some of them there is much that is good and attractive; are all to be punished alike? In answer we come to the great neglected truth of degrees of reward and punishment. Our ideas of fairness clearly

demand this ; it would not seem at all equitable that all of one class, in spite of their great moral and spiritual differences, should have precisely the same blessings ; and all of the other class, notwithstanding similar differences, should have exactly the same degree of punishment. But differences of recompense are in fact declared in Scripture. ‘We have differences of punishment set forth in the Parable of the Unfaithful Servants (Luke xii. 45-48), and in the lighter judgment foretold on Sodom or Tyre than on Chorazin or Capernaum (Matt. xi. 20-24). Differences of reward similarly appear in the Parable of the Pounds (Luke xix. 11-27), and in the fate of the different Builders (1 Cor. iii. 10-15). The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matt. xx.) appears to point the other way ; but there the difference rests in length of service rather than in character of service. To ignore these differences of reward leads to acquiescence in a low level of Christian attainment ; it goes along with the idea of salvation as consisting simply or mainly in escaping hell.

But the two older Creeds speak directly only of the lot of God’s faithful servants. They close triumphantly with an expression of sure hope. “ I look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.” The goal of all God’s dealings with us, as set forth in the Creeds—our creation, redemption, and sanctification—is “ Eternal Life.”

(On this article see Salmond, *Immortality* ; Gayford, *Life after Death* ; Beet, *The Last Things*.)

¹ Cf. Irenaeus; v., xxxvi.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I. THE OLD ROMAN CREED IN GREEK

Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν [πατέρα] παντοκράτορα·
καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν,
[τὸν] υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ
τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν,
τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,
τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα,
[καὶ] τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς,
ὃθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.
καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον,
ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν,
ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,
σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ἀμὴν.

Marcellus of Ancyra, as given in Epiphanius, omits *πατέρα* and adds *ζωὴν αἰώνιον*. As these are probably errors, our other authority, the Psalter of Athelstan, has been followed at these points.

II. THE SAME IN LATIN

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;
Et in Christum Jesum,
Filiū eius unicum,
Dominum nostrum,
Qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et ¹ Maria virgine,
Qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus,
Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
Ascendit in caelos,
Sedet ad dexteram Patris,
Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos ;
Et in Spiritum sanctum,
Sanctam ecclesiam,
Remissionem peccatorum,
Carnis resurrectionem. (Amen.)

¹ V. I, "ex."

III. THE APOSTLES' CREED, FINAL FORM

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,

¹ *creatorem caeli et terrae* ;

Et in Jesum Christum,

Filium eius unicum

Dominum nostrum ;

Qui ² *conceptus* est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine ;

Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, *mortuus*, et sepultus ;

Descendit ad inferna ;³

Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;

Ascendit ad caelos ;

Sedet ad dexteram *Dei Patris omnipotentis*.⁴

Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.

Credo in Spiritum sanctum,

Sanctam *Ecclesiam catholicam*,⁵

¹ "*Creator of heaven and earth*" is found possibly in Niceta ; otherwise first in the Gallican Sacramentary and then in Pirminius. It occurs in most Eastern Creeds, apparently even in that of Irenaeus.

² "*Conceived . . . suffered . . . dead.*" These additions for more precision came in gradually from the end of the fourth century ; becoming finally settled in the Gallican Sacramentary and in Pirminius. "*Conceived*" is found first in Faustus of Riez and Cyprian of Toulon, "*suffered*" in Priscillian (it was established in the Spanish Creed of the sixth century) ; "*dead*" in a sermon of Augustine.

³ "*Descended into hell*"—*ad inferna* or *ad inferos*. This was in the Creed of Aquileia as given by Rufinus ; also in "*Fides Hieronymi*. It is next found in the Spanish Creed of the sixth century (Martin of Braga, etc.) though not in the Mozarabic Liturgy ; also in Venantius Fortunatus, in the Gallican Sacramentary and in Pirminius.

⁴ "*God . . . Almighty*" (assimilation to former clause). Found in Priscillian, Ildefonsus and other Spanish authorities ; the Mozarabic Liturgy and the Gallican Sacramentary.

⁵ "*Catholic.*" First in Niceta ; then in Martin of Braga, later Spanish authorities and the Mozarabic Liturgy ; Faustus of Riez (possibly, and the Gallican Sacramentary.

*Sanctorum communionem,*¹
Remissionem peccatorum,
Carnis resurrectionem,
*Vitam aeternam.*² Amen.

The later additions are underlined, and the notes give the main points of their history.

Thus our Creed is nearly identical with the early Liturgical Creeds of Gaul and Spain. The additions, or nearly all of them, are found also in Creeds of the Keltic Church—the Bangor Antiphonary (c. 690), and the Book of Deer.

¹ “*Communion of Saints.*” First in Niceta, and the Fides Hieronymi, then in Faustus of Riez, the Gallican Sacramentary and the Mozarabic Liturgy.

² “*Life eternal.*” ζῶντι αἰώνιον is in the confession of Marcellus of Ancyra, as preserved by Epiphanius; but this may be a slip of the latter, or of a copyist, as it occurs in most complete Eastern Creeds. The phrase is in Cyprian’s interrogative Creed, and occurs occasionally in Augustine’s references to the Creed. It is found also in Niceta, Petrus Chrysologus of Ravenna, Martin of Braga, and the Mozarabic Liturgy; in Faustus of Riez, and in the Gallican Sacramentary.

IV. THE CREED OF CAESAREA AS GIVEN BY EUSEBIUS, 325

(It must almost certainly have contained the articles on the Church, Forgiveness and Resurrection; but Eusebius omits these as not having come into consideration at Nicaea.)

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα,¹
 τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν.
 καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
 τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον,
 θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ,
 φῶς ἐκ φωτός,
 ζῶν ἐκ ζωῆς,
 υἱὸν μονογενῆ,
 πρωτοτόκον πασῆς κτίσεως,
 πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον,
 δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα·
 τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα,
 καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον,
 καὶ παθόντα.
 καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
 καὶ ῥῆξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·
 πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

V. THE CREED OF THE COUNCIL OF NICAËA, 325

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
 πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν·
 καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
 τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ,
 γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ
 —τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς—
 θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ,
 φῶς ἐκ φωτός,
 θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,
 γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα,
 ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί,
 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο,
 τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ·
 τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν
 κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα,
 ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ.
 ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
 ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·
 καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.
 τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας· Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ
 ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας
 φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ
 θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty,
 Maker of all things both visible and invisible.
 And in one Lord Jesus Christ,
 The Son of God,
 Begotten of the Father, only begotten,
 —That is, of the essence of the Father—
 God of God,
 Light of Light,
 True God of true God,
 Begotten, not made,
 Of one essence with the Father,]
 Through Whom all things were made,

Both the things in heaven and the things in earth ;
Who for us men and for our salvation came down and was
made flesh,

¹ Was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day ;
Ascended into heaven,
Cometh to judge quick and dead ;
And in the Holy Ghost.

But those who say " There once was when He was not, and before He was begotten He was not," and that " He was made of things that were not ;" or who declare the Son of God to be of a different substance or essence, or created or changeable or variable—these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.

¹ Or possibly " lived among men."

VI. THE CREED OF JERUSALEM, AS GIVEN BY CYRIL, 347

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,
ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων·
Καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα θεὸν ἀληθινὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν
αἰώνων,
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο·
[σαρκωθέντα καὶ] ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,
σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα,
ἀναστάντα [ἐκ νεκρῶν] τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς,
καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.
καὶ εἰς ἓν ἅγιον πνεῦμα,
τὸν παράκλητον,
τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις·
καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν
καὶ εἰς μὴν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν·
καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν·
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

VII. THE CREED OF CONSTANTINOPLE (OUR SO-CALLED "NICENE CREED") AS RECITED AT CHALCEDON, 451

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
 ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,
 ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων·
 καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
 τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
 τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων,
 φῶς ἐκ φωτός,
 θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,
 γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα,
 ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί,
 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο·
 τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμέτεραν σωτηρίαν
 κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,
 καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,
 καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,
 σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα
 καὶ ταφέντα,
 καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,
 καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
 καὶ καθεζομένον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς,
 καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
 οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος·
 καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
 τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν,
 τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
 τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον,
 τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν·
 εἰς μὴν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν·
 ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·
 προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν,
 καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος· Ἀμήν.

The Creed given by Epiphanius, 374, is practically identical with the above ; agreeing however with the Creed of Nicaea in inserting the two clauses, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς

and τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, as well as the final anathemas.

The later Latin version of this Creed is as follows, changes from the original or additions being *in italics* :—

Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem,
 factorem caeli et terrae;
 visibilium omnium et invisibilium;
 et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum,
 Filium Dei unigenitum,
 et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula;
Deum de Deo,
 Lumen de lumine,
 Deum verum de Deo vero,
 Genitum non factum,
 Consubstantialem Patri,
 Per quem omnia facta sunt;
 Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem
 descendit de caelis,
 Et incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto *ex* Maria virgine,
 Et homo factus est;
 Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et
 sepultus est;
 Et resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas,
 Et ascendit in caelum,
 Sedet ad dexteram Patris,
 Et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudicare vivos et
 mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.
 Et in Spiritum sanctum,
 Dominum et vivificantem,
 Qui ex Patre *Filioque* procedit,
 Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur,
 Qui locutus est per prophetas;
 Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam;
Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum;
 Et *expecto* resurrectionem mortuorum,
 Et vitam venturi saeculi; amen.

VIII. THE ATHANASIAN CREED

(According to the text * appended to the New Translation by a Committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1909. (S.P.C.K. 1910.) The arrangement is that of this Committee, and their most important changes are noted below.)

1. Quicumque vult salvus esse : ante omnia est ut teneat¹
catholicam fidem.
2. Quam nisi quis integram inviolatamque servaverit :
absque dubio in aeternum peribit.
3. Fides autem catholica haec est : ut unum Deum in
Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur.²
4. neque confundentes³ personas : neque substantiam
separantes.
5. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii : alia Spiritus
sancti ;
6. sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti una est divinitas :
aequalis gloria, coaeterna maiestas.
7. Qualis Pater, talis Filius : talis et Spiritus sanctus ;
8. increatus Pater, increatus Filius : increatus Spiritus
sanctus ;
9. immensus⁴ Pater, immensus Filius : immensus Spiritus
sanctus ;
10. aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius : aeternus Spiritus
sanctus ;
11. et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus ;
12. sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi ; sed unus
immensus et unus increatus.⁵
13. Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius : omni-
potens Spiritus sanctus ;
14. et tamen non tres omnipotentes : sed unus omnipotens.
15. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius : Deus Spiritus sanctus,
16. et tamen non tres dii : sed unus Deus.
17. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius : Dominus Spiritus
sanctus ;
18. et tamen non tres Domini : sed unus Dominus.
19. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam et Deum

* Edited by Mr. C. H. Turner.

- et Dominum confiteri ⁶; christiana veritate compellimur;
20. ita tres deos aut tres dominos dicere ⁷; catholica religione prohibemur.
 21. Pater a nullo est: non factus nec creatus nec genitus.
 22. Filius a Patre solo est: non factus nec creatus, sed genitus.
 23. Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio: non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.
 24. Unus ergo Pater; non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii: unus Spiritus sanctus, non tres Spiritus sancti.
 25. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius; nihil maius aut minus;
 26. sed totae tres personae ⁸ co-aeternae sibi sunt: et coaequales.
 27. Ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est: et Trinitas in Unitate et Unitas in Trinitate veneranda sit.⁹
 28. Qui vult ergo salvus esse: ita de Trinitate sentiat.¹⁰
 29. Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem: ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.¹¹
 30. Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur: quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, et Deus pariter et homo est.¹²
 31. Deus est, ex substantia Patris, ante saecula genitus; et homo est, ex substantia matris, in saeculo ¹³ natus;
 32. perfectus Deus: perfectus homo, ex anima rationabili et humana carne subsistens;¹⁴
 33. aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem: minor Patre ¹⁵ secundum humanitatem.
 34. Qui licet Deus sit et homo: non duo tamen sed unus est Christus;¹⁶
 35. unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carne: sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deo;¹⁷
 36. unus omnino: non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae.
 37. Num sicut anima rationabilis et caro unus est homo: ita Deus et homo unus est Christus;¹⁸
 38. qui passus est pro salute nostra: descendit ad inferos,¹⁹ resurrexit a mortuis;

39. ascendit ad caelos, sedit ²⁰ ad dexteram Patris; inde venturus iudicare vivos ac mortuos.
40. Ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent ²¹ cum corporibus suis: et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem.
41. Et qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam: qui mala in ignem aeternum. ²²
42. Haec est fides catholica: quam nisi quis fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit. ²³

NOTES (R.T. = Revised Translation).

1. "Whosoever *would* be saved . . . needful that he *hold fast*. "Salvus esse" (or "fieri") is the common Vulgate rendering of σωζεσθαι (more common than "salvari"); e.g. Acts xvi. 30-31, Romans x. 13. It is not fair to render the words in this creed as "*be safe*," unless we are prepared to render σωζεσθαι thus throughout the New Testament.^a

2. R.T. "that we worship *the* one God *as a* Trinity, and *the* Trinity *as a* Unity."

3. R.T. "*confusing* the Persons."

4. "*Infinite*" is the R.T. rendering of "inensus" (vv. 9 and 12). The common rendering "incomprehensible" may be intended to have this meaning ("that cannot be included or bounded"); but more probably represents the Greek ἀκατάληπτος which our Reformers mistook to be the original.

5. Notice the change of order in ver. 12.

6. R.T. (ver. 19) "to *confess each of the Persons* by Himself to be *both* God and Lord."

7. R.T. (ver. 20) "To *speak of* three Gods or three Lords."

8. Notice the late use of "totae" for "omnes," as in French.

9. R.T. (ver. 22) "in all ways . . . *both the Trinity is to be worshipped as a Unity and the Unity as a Trinity.*"

10. R.T. "*let him therefore that would be saved think thus of the Trinity.*"

11. R.T. "believe *faithfully.*"

12. R.T. "is *at once* both God and Man."

13. "before the worlds." . . "in the world." R.T. *alternative* "before all time" . . "in time."

14. ver. 32. Note a change of punctuation; the ordinary division is most misleading, seeming to favour Apollinarianism,

^a See Malden, *Journal of Theological Studies*, viii. 301.

to which in reality the verse is strongly opposed. R.T. "Perfect God : perfect Man, of reasoning soul and human flesh *consisting*."

¹⁵. R.T. "*less than* the Father."

¹⁶. ver. 34 is strongly opposed to Nestorianism.

¹⁷. ver. 35. R.T. "one, however, not by *change* of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God."

¹⁸. ver. 37 might lend itself to Eutychian views ; hence it is argued this Creed must precede the Council of Chalcedon, 451.

¹⁹. R.T. "descended to *the world below*"—alt. "*into Hades*."

²⁰. R.T. "*sat down*"—"sedit" not "sedet."

²¹. Notice another late idiom, pointing to French, in "resurgere habent."

²². ver. 42 echoes Matthew xxv. 41, 46 ; and must be interpreted in the same way as those verses. It adds nothing to what is said in Scripture.

²³. R.T. "which except a man have faithfully and steadfastly believed, he cannot be saved."

Of the changes in the Revised Translation, some spring from adopting a different, usually a shorter, Latin text—especially that of the Bobbio MS. ; others from adopting either a more exact or a less narrowly literal rendering. But the Committee "have not thought it part of their duty . . to paraphrase verses to which objection has been raised" ; and it is clear, in the Archbishop's words, that "the mere retranslation of the 'Quicumque vult' provides no actual remedy, directly or indirectly, for the difficulties which surround the question of the public use of the document in the services of the Church." Retranslation renders the substance of the Creed more intelligible ; but it only slightly modifies the narrow severity of the "Damnatory Clauses."

INDEX

- Almighty, 29
 Ambrose, 6, 127
 Angel of the Lord, 42
 Annihilation, 179
 Anointing, 35
 Anthropomorphism, 21
 Apollinaris, Apollinarianism,
 11, 59, 61
 Apostles' Creed, The, 5-6;
 meaning of title, 6; text,
 Appendix I-III
 Apostolicity of Church, 146
 Apparitions, 94
 Appearances of Risen Lord,
 88; their scene, 90
 Aristion, 88
 Aristides, 57
 Arius, Arianism, 7, 10, 11, 25,
 40, 47, 48, 61
 Articles, The Forty-two, 84,
 178
 Ascension, The, 99 f.; its
 date, 100
 Athanasian Creed, The, 9-12,
 25, etc.; damnatory clauses
 of, 11, 12; text, Appendix
 VIII
 Athanasius, 9, 25
 Atonement, The, 71; theories
 of, 76
 Augustine, 5, 15, 42, 127, 136
 Baptism, 3; its connexion with
 forgiveness, 159
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 87, 100
 "Believe in," 14
 Bernard, 77
 Birth of Christ, the, 51 f.; St.
 Matthew's account, 51-52;
 St. Luke's, 52-54; silence
 of other writers, 50-51, 56-
 57; its date, 54-55; alleged
 parallels, 57; its congruity,
 58
 Blood of Christ, the, 74
 Burial, 69
 Caesarius of Arles, 10, 80
 Caldecott, Dr., quoted, 17
 Catholic, Catholicity, 144
 Census, 54
 Christ, 34 f.
 Church, the, 132 f.; various
 uses of term, 132, 135 f.;
 authority of, 138; relation
 to scripture, 139; notes of,
 140
 Claims, the Lord's, 43
 Clement of Rome, 24, 27, 151
 Clopas, 52
 Commission of Church, 135, 162
 "Communicatio Idiomatum,"
 63
 Communion of saints, the, 147 f.
 Conditional immortality, 179
 Conscience, 20
 Councils—Autun, 10; Chalce-
 don, 8, 60, 127; Constantin-

- ople, 7, 8, 59, 127; Ephesus, 60, 63; Florence, 128; Nicaea, 7, 48, 117 (Second Council), 128; Toledo, 2, 10, 127
 Creation, 30 f.; through the Son, 49
 Creeds, use of, 1
 Cross, the, 67 f.
 Cyril of Jerusalem, 5, 8, 48, 80, 145; Appendix VI
 Day of the Lord, the, 113
 Death of Christ, 66 f.; fact, 68; necessity, 77
 Descent into hell, the, 80 f.
 Divinity of Christ, the, 41 f.
 Driver, 130
 Dual procession, the, 127 f.
 Duns Scotus, 64
 Ebionites, the, 52, 57
 Enoch, Book of, 62, 114, 165
 Epiphanius, 8, 61, 127
 Episcopal succession, 141
 Eternal generation, 40
 Eternal life, 173 f.
 Eternal punishment, 180 f.
 Eusebius, 5, 7, 55; Appendix IV
 Eutyches, Eutychianism, 10, 11, 60, 61
 Evolution, 20, 156
 Explanations of belief in the Resurrection, 92
 Faith, 13 f.
 Father, the, 27 f.
 Final destiny of ungodly, 176 f.
 Forgiveness of sins, 154 f., 158; its relation to baptism, 159
 Gibson, Bp., quoted 104
 God, 17 f.; definition of, 17; proofs of existence, 18-21
 Goodwin, Bp., quoted, 7, 51
 Gore, Bp., quoted, 64
 Hell, meaning of term, 81
 Hilary of Arles, 9
 Hippolytus, 55
 Historical facts, value of, 3
 Holiness of the Church, the, 144
 Holy Ghost, the, 119 f.; divinity of, 120; personality, 120; work, 123 f.
 Hooker, quoted, 61, 104, 140
 Humanity of Christ, the, 61 f.
 Ignatius, 57, 87, 145
 Illingworth, quoted, 18
 Immanence and transcendence, 32
 Incarnation, the, 50 f.; doctrine of, 59 f.
 Inspiration, 129
 Irenaeus, 57, 82, 112, 182
 Jesus, 33 f.
 Joseph, 51
 Joseph of Arimathaea, 70, 93
 Josephus, 67
 Judgment, future, 112; its character, 116
 Justin Martyr, 27, 39, 42, 54, 57, 93, 112
 Kilpatrick, quoted, 58
 Kingdom of God, Christ, Heaven, the, 118, 134
 Knowledge, the Lord's human, 63
 Lidgett, quoted, 74, 78
 Lord, our, 41 f.
 Lord's day, the, 87

- Macedonius, Macedonians, 8,
119
Marcellus of Ancyra, 5, 39, 118
Marcion, 53
Mark, St., end of gospel of, 88
Mary, the Blessed Virgin, 52 f.
Messiah, the, 34 f.; death of,
70
Messianic prophecy, 36
Millennium, the, 112, 178
- Nestorius, Nestorianism, 10, 11,
60-61, 63
Nicene Creed, the, 7, 8, 47-48,
92, 117, 159, App. V., VII.
Niceta, 6, 31, 147
- Origen, 40, 169, 178
- Pacian, 145
Paraclete, the, 126
Paradise, 86
Paul, St.—Evidence for Christ's
Resurrection, 89; teaching
on the future Resurrection,
166 f.
Paul of Samosata, 24
Pearson, quoted, 29, 70, 148
"Person," meaning of term,
25
Pentecost, 123, 134
Peter the Fuller, 2
Philo, 42, 46, 67
Pirminius, 6
Pontius Pilate, 67
Praxeas, 24
Prayers for dead, 150
Prophet, 36
Propitiation, 73
Purgatory, 86, 152
- Quirinius, 54, 55
- Ramsay, 54-55
Ransom, redemption, 72-73
Resurrection of Christ, 87 f.;
doctrinal significance of, 96
Resurrection of the body, 164
f.; more than immortality of
the soul, 168
Resurrection-body, nature of
the, 95, 169
Return of Christ, 108 f.; why
expected by apostles to be
near, 109-111
Rufinus, 5, 6, 80
- Sabellius, Sabellianism, 11, 24,
47
Sacrifice, 74
Sadducees, the, 165, 170
Saints, invocation of, 152
Sanday, quoted, 39
Sentius Saturninus, 55
Session, the, 105
Sin, definition of, 154; origi-
nal, 156; venial and mortal,
158; irremissible, 161 f.
Son of God, 38 f.
Son of Man, 62
"Substance, of one," 48
Swete, quoted, 121, 125, 163
- Tacitus, 66
Targums, 35, 165
"Teaching of the apostles,"
the, 88, 151
Tertullian, 5, 24, 55
Theophanies, 42
Theophilus, 24
"Third day," the, 91
Trinity, the Holy, 23; history of
doctrine, 24-25; statement,
25-26; essential and econo-
mic, 26-27

Turner, quoted, 10, 67, 194

Unity of God, 22 f.

Unity of the Church, 142

Universal restoration, 177

Vaughan, quoted, 141

Visions, theory of, 93

Waterland, 9

Wesley, 150

Westcott, 9, 15, 46, 75, 104

Wisdom of God, 42, 47

Word (Logos), 45

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